THE INFLUENCE OF CHARLES BAUDELAIRE

IN SPANISH MODERNISMO

by

Glyn Michael Hambrook, B.A.

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

October 1985

C O N T E N T S

ABSTRACT

Existing critical response to the question of Baudelaire's influence is confined almost exclusively to isolated assumptions articulated by critics who make little attempt, if any, to substantiate their claims, and who, thereby, show scant regard for the burden of proof associated with the study of causal influence. This study proposes to test the validity of such assumptions, and to formulate a more structured appraisal of the issue than has been made hitherto. To this end, it has sought to assemble pertinent evidence and to assess its value as an indication of a real literary debt. Enquiry is structured accordingly. The thesis begins with an exploration of methodological considerations designed to establish the conceptual basis of enquiry (Part One). It then proceeds to study the diffusion of Baudelaire's work in Spain between 1857 and 1910, and, subsequently, to examine critical reaction to the poet during the same period (Part Two). Finally, it studies the theme of Baudelaire's influence in *modernismo* with reference to the work

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of six poets whose work is representative of or which, in one case, prefigures the *modernista* movement in Spain: Manuel Reina, Rubén Darío, Francisco Villaespesa, the brothers Machado and Juan Ramón Jiménez. The particular objective of each case study varies according to the evidence available and the extent of existing critical response, but basically these objectives are three in number. First, to analyse unequivocal influences. Second, to ascertain, where no conclusive proof of influence exists, the extent to which the possibility of influence may be entertained. Third, to indicate, where pertinent, that the question merits more detailed examination than is possible in a general survey of this kind.

The study concludes that although Baudelaire's work was reasonably well-diffused, his direct influence was slight and can be proven far less than existing preemptory claims suggest.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank the University of Nottingham which, in awarding me a University Postgraduate Studentship, provided the financial support necessary to carry out research for this thesis.

I am deeply indebted to Professor Richard A. Cardwell, Head of the Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Nottingham, who supervised my research, for his guidance, encouragement and unwavering support during the past eight years.

I should like to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to my colleagues in the School of Languages and European Studies, The Polytechnic, Wolverhampton, for their support and forebearance while I sought to complete my research, particularly to Mr. John White, Head of School, Mr. David Hopkins, Deputy Head of School and Head of Russian, Mr. D. G. Thomas, Course Supervisor, Modern Languages and Head of Spanish, and Mr. Stuart Williams, Head of French, for their encouragement, advice and practical assistance.

I am grateful to Mr. John Laidlaw of the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, Mlle. Joanna Spaak of the Belgian Embassy, London, Doña Raquel Sárraga of the Sala Zenobia - Juan Ramón, Biblioteca de Río Piedras, University of Puerto Rico, and Doña Pilar Varela, Director of the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid, for helping me obtain or allowing me access to material which I needed to consult or information which I required in the course of my research.

My deepest thanks to my father, Eric Hambrook, OBE, and my mother Phyllis Hambrook, for their encouragement and invaluable and indefatigable help in the preparation and checking the final typescript.

Finally, I should like to acknowledge a special debt of gratitude to my wife, Angela Mary Hambrook, who sacrificed time, energy and opportunity that I might complete my research; and to my son, Matthew, for his patience and forbearance.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

I. COMPLETE WORKS

OC	Obras completas, Oeuvres complètes
OP	Oeuvres poétiques
OPC	Oeuvres poétiques complètes
PC	Poesías completas, Poésies complètes
PLP	Primeros libros de poesía

II. JOURNALS

BHS	Bulletin of Hispanic Studies
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America

III. PUBLISHERS

CUP	Cambridge University Press
OUP	Oxford University Press
PUF	Presses Universitaires de France

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Lecteur paisible et bucolique,
Sobre et naïf homme de bien,
Jette ce livre saturnien,
Orgiaque et mélancolique.

Si tu n'as fait ta rhétorique
Chez Satan, le rusé doyen,
Jette! tu n'y comprendrais rien,
Ou tu me croirais hystérique.

Mais si, sans se laisser charmer,
Ton oeil sait plonger dans les gouffres,
Lis-moi, pour apprendre à m'aimer;

Ame curieuse qui souffres
Et vas cherchant ton paradis,
Plains-moi!... Sinon, je te maudis!

Charles Baudelaire, 'Epigraphe pour
un livre condamné', Les Fleurs du Mal,
OC, 43.

When, in the first chapter of Los límites del modernismo (Madrid 1964), Rafael Ferreres declared that 'es Francia, como en otras ocasiones, la que da savia, iniciativas a prosistas y poetas del 98 y modernistas' (p. 30), he was expressing a belief which few critics who have reflected on the origins of modernismo would find fundamentally unreasonable. Acceptance that Peninsular modernismo incurred a debt to nineteenth-century French poetry, and in particular to the successive phases through which it developed between the decline of Romanticism and the fin-de-siècle (L'art pour l'art, Parnassianism, Decadence, Symbolism), has emerged as one of the constants of literary historical enquiry concerning events in Spain around the turn of the century. That modernismo drew inspiration from French models has been acknowledged with virtual unanimity by critics of all persuasions and whose attitude to the impact of French aesthetics on this literary movement differ widely.

Recognition that the modernistas turned to France for guidance and inspiration is not a recent phenomenon. French influence was among the first aspects of their work to be acknowledged when modernismo first became the subject of critical debate. In two articles published in El Imparcial as early as 1888 (they appeared on 22 and 29 October, and were to reappear subsequently in their more familiar guise as the 'carta-prólogo' to the second edition of Azul . . .), Juan Valera made much of Rubén Darío's 'galicismo mental'. He evidently found this cause for concern, and reproached the Nicaraguan for failing to moderate his Francophilia by seeking inspiration in other national literatures, including that of Spain, whose influence the critic would no doubt have preferred to figure more prominently.

Discussion concerning modernismo's debt to French literature

intensified as the movement gained momentum. The need to define the form in which this influence manifested itself and to identify the sources from which it derived increased as curiosity grew among the literary public regarding the nature of 'la nueva literatura'. The sporadic critical sparring which had heralded the onset of critical debate concerning modernismo developed into a vigorous polemic. Supporters, detractors and interested but impartial bystanders came forth to state precisely what they understood by modernismo. Articles with titles such as 'El modernismo', '¿Qué es el modernismo?' and '¿Qué significa modernismo?' became commonplace in the literary press of the day. Nowhere is the spirit of this vogue for definition better encapsulated than in the invitations which certain reviews extended to their contributors and even to the general public to explain what modernismo meant for them. The most ambitious of these was the open contest launched by Gente Vieja on 10 January 1902, in which competitors were invited to respond to the question: '¿Qué es el modernismo y qué significa como escuela dentro del arte en general y de la literatura en particular?'. This provided an opportunity for those who considered the movement to have drawn inspiration from French models to make their opinion known. An example of this is to be found in an entry published on 30 June of the same year, whose author, Gonzalo Guasp, described modernismo as an 'amortiguado eco' of French Symbolism. This article belonged to the minority which adopted a relatively neutral attitude to the subject of French influences. The sympathies of commentators were for the most part far more evident. In reply to an 'enquête' on the nature of modernismo, Manuel Machado declared in respect of his literary confrères that '[t]odos, sí, han roto con las normas de la retórica vieja, pero influido

cada uno por tendencias distintas, venidas en su mayoría de Francia' (El Nuevo Mercurio, March 1907, p. 337). He went on to add by way of qualification, that '[e]l ejemplo de Francia ha sido . . . muy saludable' (p. 339). In sharp contrast to this point of view was the opinion expressed by the psychologist Max Nordau. In an article published in the same number of El Nuevo Mercurio, and entitled 'El modernismo en España y América', he dismissed the movement as 'una imitación deplorablemente servil de los penúltimos, amanerados y ridículos dandys literarios franceses' and 'la importación en España de modelos franceses, que ya no están de moda en Francia' (pp. 243-44).

The degree of interest shown in the question of French influence around the turn of the century firmly established the theme as one of the principal issues for discussion with respect to modernismo. The theme has proven to be one of the hardy perennials of literary history, emerging anew whenever subsequent generations of critics have deemed necessary a reappraisal of literary events in fin-de-siècle Spain. Juan Ramón Jiménez, speaking in retrospect, acknowledged that 'los parnasianos y los simbolistas franceses . . . son los que influyen en los llamados modernistas américohispanos y españoles', and in 1938 his near contemporary Pedro Salinas was to define modernismo as 'poesía de cultura con una patria universal y una capital favorita, París' (1). The trend persists today. Rafael Ferreres (Verlaine y los modernistas españoles [Madrid 1975]), Gillian Gayton (Manuel Machado y los poetas simbolistas franceses [Valencia 1975]), and J. M. Aguirre (Antonio Machado, poeta simbolista [Madrid 1973]) are just three of many contemporary critics for whom French influence in modernismo is a significant reality.

Not all have been predisposed to accept the idea of French influence so willingly. Juan Ramón Jiménez, for example, agreed that such an influence had taken place, but was anxious to dispel any implication that Spain had been the helpless victim of cultural imperialism. '[T]odos los poetas que vienen del simbolismo francés', he declared, 'asimilan la técnica francesa, pero la acomodan a la tradición de sus países'. Jiménez considered French influence in Spanish <u>modernismo</u> to be merely one component of relative significance within a far broader pattern of cultural interchange. He therefore deemed Symbolism, of which he believed <u>modernismo</u> to be the Hispanic manifestation, to be 'mal llamado francés, ya que Francia lo copió de Estados Unidos (Poe), Alemania (sobre todo Wagner) y España (San Juan de la Cruz en la magnífica traducción de Solesmes)' (2). A sceptic might venture to suggest that Jiménez was less preoccupied with defining Symbolism than with turning to Spain's advantage certain commonly-held presuppositions concerning the origins of <u>modernismo</u>. By presenting Symbolism as the product of influences rather than as their source, as the continuation of a broader tradition as opposed to a tradition in itself, and as a movement whose principal sources included the mysticism of San Juan de la Cruz, the Spanish poet, it could be argued, was attempting to restore to his homeland some of the credit for the profound change in European literature to which this movement contributed, while casting her cultural arch-rival, France, in the role of the indebted party. Jiménez's motives may be questionable, but his objection to the importance attributed to the French origins of <u>modernismo</u> is at least couched in plausible terms. The same cannot be said of the definition of the movement formulated by

Federico de Mendizábal in his extensive introduction to Francisco Villaespesa's Poesías completas (2 tomos, Madrid 1954). Mendizábal's contention that modernismo was the Hispanic manifestation of a literary renaissance which took place throughout Western Europe towards the end of the nineteenth century seems reasonable enough. Yet his assertion that the movement involved a return to classical values in art, along with the resurrection of the moral vision of Christian Romanticism presents an image of modernismo from which any insinuation of what was regarded by conservative traditionalist groups as unhealthy, foreign influence prejudicial to the survival of castizo values had been carefully extirpated. The disproportionate emphasis placed by the critic on the Spanishness of modernismo betrays his partisan attitudes. Moreover, that Mendizábal should have considered the questionable poetic gifts of Villaespesa to be on a par with those of Mallarmé and D'Annunzio - the three comprise his triumvirate of literary 'pontífices' - can only be ascribed to an excessive and misplaced admiration for the author of La copa del rey de Thule (PC, I, cxiv-cxvii).

The acceptance which the idea of modernismo's debt to France has come to enjoy among historians of literature, in spite of opposition from certain quarters or individual critics, has, nevertheless, proven sufficient to engender a number of assumptions regarding specific manifestations of this debt, many of which still remain partially or even totally unverified. One category of presupposition involves the influence of individual French writers. Charles Baudelaire is one such writer.

It is not altogether surprising that Baudelaire should have been assumed to have exerted an influence upon the Spanish modernistas.

His right to the title of the father of modern poetry has been acknowledged by detractors and admirers alike since the latter decades of the nineteenth century. In Spain, the literary community became aware of Baudelaire's profound influence on subsequent generations of French writers almost as soon as this influence began to be felt. By the beginning of the twentieth century, when the subject of French influence was uppermost in Spanish critics' and writers' minds, contemporary poetry's debt to the Frenchman had become a fact of literary life. Writing in the prestigious La España Moderna in December 1901, Emilia Pardo Bazán, who was never known for her sympathy towards the poet, described him as the 'padre de tantas direcciones contemporáneas, actualísimas' (p. 57). Eduardo de Ory remarked in El Nuevo Mercurio in March 1907 that although Rubén Darío was the writer who had introduced the new poetry to Spain, 'tendremos que convenir que Verlaine, Baudelaire y Mallarmé están sirviendo, también, de modelo a no pocos "portaliras" actuales' (p. 406). This opinion has been echoed by subsequent generations of critics. César González Ruano declared in 1931 in his Baudelaire (Cuarta edición, [Madrid 1958]), that

> puede considerarse que la generación modernista del novecientos se educa, desde sus maestros a sus epígonos, en Baudelaire, unas veces directamente y otras veces a través de Verlaine, quien acaso llegó antes a la captación de nuestros poetas (p. 225).

Likewise Juan Ramón Jiménez, who placed Baudelaire alongside Rimbaud and Mallarmé as 'los inspiradores de las técnicas simbolistas jenerales' and claimed elsewhere that 'los poetas [españoles del fin de siglo fueron] muy influídos por Baudelaire' (3). References to the poet's influence have continued to appear whenever the question of French sources has been raised. Rafael Ferreres,

for example, has stated in his Verlaine y los modernistas españoles that every modernista and noventayochista felt the influence of Baudelaire to some degree:

> Estos poetas y prosistas, en cuanto a influencias extranjeras, todos reciben principal y esencialmente las de Verlaine, Teófilo Gautier y del 'divino' Enrique Heine. También, menos intensamente, las de Carlos Baudelaire, y, unos sí y otros no, las de Teodoro de Banville, Alberto Samain, Catulle Mendès, Poe, Gabriel D'Annunzio, etc. (p. 258).

Other studies have implied as much. Yet others, however, have questioned the supposition that the poet did exert such an influence, or at least give reason to entertain reservations regarding the degree of influence. When, in Mis plagios (Madrid 1888), Clarín answered the rhetorical question '¿Cuántos españoles habremos leído enteros a Leconte de Lisle y todo el Baudelaire?' with the response 'pocos' (p. 96), he was expressing a belief which was to be echoed by subsequent generations of critics. Some fourteen years later, when the vogue for French literature was supposedly at its height, Angel Guerra suggested that Spaniards were in reality no better acquainted with the work of the modern masters from beyond the Pyrenees than they had been when Clarín had spoken out. Writing in Madrid Cómico on 22 March 1902, he confronted those who subscribed to the theory of French influence with an assertion strangely reminiscent of that articulated by Alas: '¿Se conoce el modernismo en España? Inclínome a creer que no . . . Banville, apenas le conocemos. . . . Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Vielé Griffin, Hofmannstal . . . creo que los conocemos de nombre' (p. 94). The case against Baudelairian influence does not end here. The point of view expressed by Clarín and Angel Guerra so many decades ago finds apparent corroboration in the fact that no critic, past or

present, has ever set out to clarify the issue. *Modernismo*'s debt to Baudelaire has never figured as the subject of rigorous and detailed investigation. Given the proponderant position occupied by the poet in the development of modern European poetry the lack of critical interest in the question of his influence in Spain might be taken to infer that pursuit of the theme would be fruitless or at least fail to meet optimistic expectations of proof of influence.

Opinion regarding whether *modernismo* incurred a general debt to Baudelaire is, then, contradictory. This situation cannot be deemed to constitute an adequate response to the question of the Frenchman's influence on Spain's *fin-de-siècle* poets. The unsatisfactory nature of existing critical response to this issue resides not, however, in the fact that the two opposing viewpoints remain unreconciled, but in the fact that neither has been argued cogently. One aim of the present study will be to test the suppositions which exist in respect of Baudelaire's influence upon the *modernistas*, by assembling evidence of the possibility that a debt to the Frenchman was incurred, with a view to assessing its value as an indication of influence.

The need to test suppositions regarding *modernismo*'s debt to Baudelaire may be a sufficient and, indeed, the principal reason to justify an examination of this topic, but it is not the only one. It has been suggested above that the lack of specific attention to this theme may reflect a suspicion among comparativists that there is little of significance to be discovered by undertaking such an enquiry. Yet there is equally good reason to assume that this state of affairs exists because critics who have made pronouncements with regard to Baudelaire's influence in *modernismo* (or the lack of it) have simply not felt it necessary to substantiate

their claims. Such an attitude derives from the readiness of critics to speak of 'influences' without acknowledging the burden of proof which accompanies such a claim. Critics, particularly historians of literature, seemingly fail to realise, or perhaps choose to ignore that the essential concern of influence enquiry is the relationship between source and similarity; that the very term 'influence' implies a specific relation between two texts, the existence of which can be ascertained only by careful evaluation of the evidence, and possibly not at all.

The discussion of influences has proven to be one of the aspects of comparative literary activity which is most susceptible to conceptual abuse and lax or irresponsible treatment. There are, then, excellent reasons for undertaking a revaluation of the methodology of influence studies in its own right. A study of Baudelaire's influence in Spanish _modernismo_ not only provides a good pretext to do so but indeed demands that more than token consideration be given to the question of an adequate methodological basis for exploration of the theme.

On the one hand, few of the French writers to whom, it is claimed, the _modernistas_ were indebted, can have suffered more than Baudelaire from the preemptory manner in which the subject of influences has all too frequently been handled. The present state in which critical examination of Baudelaire's influence finds itself is due in part to the problems inherent in existing approaches and attitudes to the subject of influences. On the other hand, the theme of Baudelaire's influence in Spain poses particular complexities which can only be resolved by the use of a methodological system capable of taking them into account. These considerations will be identified in Part One of this study.

To summarise: The aim of the present study is to test the validity of the presuppositions which already exist regarding Baudelaire's influence in the *modernistas*, and to attempt a more structured appraisal of the situation. To this end, certain objectives must be fulfilled. In the first place, a methodology which is adequate to the task must be established, and all ambiguities associated with its conceptual basis must be resolved. Secondly, the *modernista*'s susceptibility to Baudelairian influence must be ascertained by determining both the extent to which his work was known in Spain during the relevant period of time and the nature of Spanish attitudes toward him. Finally, an attempt must be made to ascertain how far one can justifiably speak of Baudelaire's influence in Spanish *modernismo*, by examining pertinent evidence and assessing its value and an indication of literary debt. Enquiry will be structured accordingly. This thesis will begin with a discussion of methodological considerations. It will then proceed to examine the diffusion of Baudelaire's work in Spain between 1857, when the first reference to the Frenchman appeared in the Spanish press, and the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, when *modernismo* can be considered to have ceased to exist as a force in Spanish letters. Subsequently, it will explore critical reaction to Baudelaire's work on the part of the various factions into which Spain's literary community was divided during the period of time indicated above. Finally, it will investigate the influence of Baudelaire with reference to the work of six poets whom literary history has seen fit to associate with, and who may be considered representative of the *modernista* movement in Spain. The poets concerned are, in chronological order,

Manuel Reina, Rubén Darío, Francisco Villaespesa, Manuel Machado, Antonio Machado and Juan Ramón Jiménez. The particular objective of each case study will vary according to the evidence available and the extent of existing critical response, but basically these objectives are three in number. First, to analyse unequivocal influences. Second, to ascertain, where no conclusive proof of influence exists, the extent to which the possibility of influence may be entertained. Third, to indicate, where pertinent, that the question merits more detailed examination than is possible in a general survey of this kind.

For the purposes of the present study reference will be made to Marcel Ruff's recent edition of Baudelaire's Oeuvres complètes (Paris: Seuil, 1968).

NOTES

1. La corriente infinita, edición de Francisco Garfías (Madrid: Aguilar 1961), p. 228; Literatura española siglo XX, segunda edición (Madrid: Alianza 1972), p. 17.

2. La corriente infinita, p. 227.

3. El modernismo. Notas de un curso (1953) (Mexico: Aguilar, 1962).

PROLEGOMENON

In Spanish literary history, the much-debated term *modernismo* refers to a movement of literary renovation which began in the late 1890's, reached its height in the years leading up to 1905, and persisted, with progressively diminishing intensity, throughout the first decade of the twentieth century.

Spanish *modernismo* may be considered to represent in its initial phase a reaction against three elements. The first of these is the political and cultural hegemony of the Restoration *Corte* over provincial aspirations and the centralistic control, through the national culture, of them. Thus, *modernismo* reacted against both Restoration ideology and the language in which it was expressed: bourgeois values - materialism, utilitarianism and the civic spirit - on the one hand, and on the other, dogmatism, didacticism and the declamatory language of oratory or pseudo-philosophical discourse. The second element is the state of stagnation or 'decadencia' (not to be confused with the quite distinct French *Décadence*) into which Spanish literature had fallen by the 1880's. The third is the rise of scientific positivism and its literary corollary, Naturalism. *Modernismo* reflects a spirit of artistic renovation and regeneration, the fruit of a new literary sensibility, one of the most striking achievements of which was a revolution in poetic language, whence there emerged what Gustav Siebenmann has referred to as 'un cultivado y consciente arte verbal' (*Los estilos poéticos en España desde 1900* [Madrid,

1973] , p. 95).

Internal incongruities cause Spanish modernismo to resist being treated as a unified, homogeneous movement except in the broadest sense. It is nevertheless possible to identify a number of general features, bearing in mind that their presence is neither universal nor uniform throughout the movement. Modernismo is characterised by idealism and individualism, the latter manifested above all in the poet's consciousness of his destiny as a poet and the consequent emergence of an élitist, anti-democratic view of art; by aestheticism with a spiritual dimension (often couched in a blend of mysticism and sensuality), giving rise to an equation between religion and art with its attendent cult of Beauty and nostalgia for lost paradises or ideal worlds; by introspective journeyings through paysages d'âme of dream, the imagination or memory, a process which has been interpreted variously as escapism or a quest for a greater reality; by a spiritual malaise descended from Romantic existential anguish.

Spanish modernismo is generally considered to fall into two phases or promociones. The first (1899-1900) is markedly Romantic in character. It reflects a return to the language, themes and prosody of the Spanish románticos, particularly Espronceda, as well as a resurgence of Romantic angustia. It displays aspects of lo gótico which recall El estudiante de Salamanca and, more generally, is reminiscent of German Romanticism. In this dimension, the influence of Zorrilla, Manuel Reina and Bécquer can also be detected. The works of the primera promoción also display a Parnassian quality - plasticity, chromatic effects, artifice, synaesthesia, musicality, features of the French

Décadence which appeared in embryonic form in the poetry of this school - the presence of which may be attributed less to direct French influence (with the possible exception of Théophile Gautier) than to that of Rubén Darío, modernismo's Spanish-American guiding personality, Manuel Reina and, more superficially, Salvador Rueda.

The second phase (1900-1905 and beyond) is characterised in its initial stage by a shift away from the resonant language of Romanticism, formal elegance and plasticity towards the poetry of tono menor. This trend manifests itself in a recurrence of aspects found in the poetry of Béquer, Ricardo Gil, Rosalía de Castro and the Mexican Francisco de Icaza, in particular the predominance of the world of dream and the imagination over the rational universe of the intellect. This tendency gradually gives way to the mentality of profound aesthetic spirituality characteristic of the Helios brotherhood and poetics of suggestion and transcendence, both of which testify to the modernistas' discovery of and affiliation (in varying degrees) to a new poetic tradition, beginning with Baudelaire and the contemporary representatives of which were the Symbolistes and Décadents.

It is customary to define modernismo in terms of the contrast which it presents with the approximately contemporaneous noventayochismo, described by Ricardo Gullón as 'una reacción política y social de escritores, artistas y pensadores frente al Desastre' (Direcciones del modernismo, 2ª ed. [Madrid, 1971], p. 19). While it is undeniable that some works commonly considered to be representative of each of these movements differ markedly in form and focus, it can be argued that they nevertheless embody a fundamentally common existential response to external

circumstances and the conditions of existence. They also, as the recent work of R. A. Cardwell has shown (see Bibliography), often have common aesthetic and personal preoccupations often, too, expressed in a very similar set of themes, images and symbols. Herein lies the difficulty encountered when attempting to place certain writers, such as Juan Ramón Jiménez, Antonio Machado or Miguel de Unamuno, unequivocally in one camp or the other.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the present study is that it does not adopt a literary historical approach to the question of influence, for reasons which are explained primarily in the introduction (pp. xiv-xv) to and Part One (pp. 5-6, 16-18) of this thesis. As a result, use of the term modernismo (and by extension the qualification modernista, other literary historical terms such as Generación del'98, Symbolisme etc., together with the adjectival forms which derive therefrom) may on occasions appear to be somewhat contradictory. For this reason, a brief explanation is necessary in order to clarify the sense of such terms in this context.

For the purposes of the present study in general, it is both desirable and necessary that the term modernismo be understood in an inclusive, comprehensive sense rather than in a precise, exclusive (literary historical) one. In order to test the presuppositions which exist in respect of Baudelaire's influence in Spanish modernismo, it is necessary to accord to modernismo a meaning broad enough to take into account the variety of senses in which the term has been understood by critics who have discussed the Frenchman's influence upon the movement in general or upon individual representatives of it.

It is also necessary, however, to clarify the more precise sense which the term *modernismo* acquires in specific areas of enquiry within the present study. It is not intended that the period of over fifty years from which the critical comments examined in Part Two are taken - 1857 to 1910 - should be deemed to represent a chronological delimitation of *modernismo*; nor, as is quite evident, could all the commentators whose judgements are reviewed be called *modernistas*, however comprehensively one defines the movement. A survey of this scope is necessary, however, in order to appreciate the context of which *modernista* critical response to the French poet was an integral and dependent part.

Part Two of this thesis reveals more particular definitions of *modernismo*. In Chapter Four (pp. 259-393) *modernismo* is not used as a literary historical category, but rather is defined in terms of a set of critical assumptions and priorities which emerge as being common to writers of Spain's *fin de siglo* generation (irrespective of whether they should be classified as *modernistas* or *noventayochistas* or whether their respective opinions of Baudelaire coincide) and which are reflected in their response to the French poet. To this end, *modernismo* has been used as a blanket term roughly synonymous with 'turn-of-the-century'. It has been accorded a breadth of meaning similar to that conferred upon the term by Ricardo Gullón in *Direcciones del modernismo* (2ª ed., Madrid, 1971). Here, Gullón, following Juan Ramón Jiménez's definition of *modernismo* as an epoch rather than a single artistic movement, warns of the dangers inherent in elaborating exclusive definitions of literary movements on the basis of external characteristics

and stresses that '[e]l modernismo es, sobre todo, una actitud' (p. 19); with the essential difference, of course, that the 'actitud' of import in the present study is the specific one held in respect of Baudelaire. Gullón's quest to express the essential character of *modernismo* leads him, perhaps, into excessive generality, for his definition reduces the movement to a lowest common denominator which could be said to be that of any literary movement. At least, however (and herein lies the principal merit of his viewpoint), the critic avoids the greater sin of drawing too clear a dividing line between two categories which are already questionably artificial.

A similar policy has been adopted with regard to the meaning of terms such as *modernista* when applied to specific contemporary critical commentators. The significance of these writers resides in the fact that they had something to say about Baudelaire and in the essential unity which underlay their response. Their precise literary historical identity is irrelevent to the issue. The qualifications used in respect of these commentators are, therefore, terms of convenience.

In Part Three of the study the contentious term is not *modernismo* but *modernista*. The six poets represented in the case studies have been selected because of their associations with *modernismo* and also because they received or have been assumed to have received Baudelaire's influence. The criterion for defining a *modernista* is, then, flexible and inclusive inasfar as it implies acceptance of what critics have already declared or assumed. It would appear logical to use *modernista* in a comprehensive sense in order to acknowledge the range of acceptations which the term has not unjustifiably acquired and to anticipate those

which it could acquire. Such a usage will also avoid excluding from the study material of significance to the issue of Baudelaire's influence on the grounds that it was questionable whether this material was a true product of *modernismo* in a very narrow sense of the term. Viewed thus, the term *modernista* acquires an inclusive sense, enabling a wide range of relevant material to be examined, from accepted classics of *modernismo* with an apparent but not necessarily real debt to Baudelaire, to works from the chronological peripheries of *modernismo* (including those of acknowledged precursors) which invite consideration.

In conclusion, a brief word of explanation as to why, in an investigation purportedly concerned with *modernismo* in Spain, significant attention is given to the work of a number of Spanish Americans: the Guatemalan Enrique Gómez Carrillo and, to a lesser degree, the Puerto-Rican Luis Bonafoux in Part Two of the thesis, and the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío, who is treated as a major figure in both this part and Part Three. The reason for discussing these writers lies in their close association with Spanish *modernismo*, all three through their role as intermediaries and agents of diffusion, particularly of French literature (they were all 'Francophile propagandists', to coin the term John W. Kronik has applied to Gómez Carrillo), and Darío in his capacity as one (if not the most significant) of the initiators of Spanish *modernismo*. A detailed exploration of such relationships is to be found in D. Fogelquist's *Españoles de América y americanos de España* (Madrid, 1968).

PART ONE

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

CHAPTER ONE

'Ĭnfluence (-lŏŏ-) n., & v.t. 1. n. action of person or thing on or upon another, perceptible only in its effects'

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, edited by J. B. Sykes, seventh edition (London, 1982), p. 514a.

'On a indiqué au chapitre II le risque couru par toute étude d'influences: confondre "interférences" et "relations de cause à effet". Cependant, on vient de voir que nul secteur de la littérature comparée n'a été plus abondamment exploité'

Marius-François Guyard La Littérature comparée, sixth edition (PUF, 1978) p. 76.

I. WHAT IS INFLUENCE?

Ihab H. Hassan, in a far from untimely reassessment of the role of influence studies in literary history, has remarked that '[t]he concept [of influence] is obviously called upon to account for any relationship, running the gamut of incidence to causality, with a somewhat expansive range of intermediary correlations'. A cursory random survey of the way in which literary critics have used and continue to use the term 'influence' would be sufficient to confirm the accuracy of Hassan's observation. It would reveal a disconcerting ambiguity as regards the meaning attributed to the term; an ambiguity which could easily lead one to suppose that little consideration, if any, had been given to its significance. 'Even among informed students of literature', Hassan continues, 'the subject has acquired a certain ambivalence which is not entirely resolved by enclosing the word "influence" within guarded or ironic quotes' (1).

The ambivalence which Hassan detects in critics' use of the term derives from a tendency to juxtapose (possibly intentionally) the two senses in which it can be understood. On the one hand, influence implies the notion of causality, of the formative action of one entity upon another. This is, of course, an innate semantic characteristic of the word, but one which acquires a particular prominence in the context of literary criticism: the study of influences has its origin in the 'genetic' view of literature which evolved in the ideological climate of nineteenth-century positivism (2). On the other hand, the term 'influence' has come to be used by critics in a much looser sense when describing the presence in one writer's work of elements or characteristics that

resemble aspects of that of an earlier writer.

It is when the term acquires, in critical contexts, this latter less specific interpretation that the problems begin to arise. An example may be appropriate at this juncture to help illustrate the nature of the problems. In the introduction to a recent edition of the early poetry of Antonio Machado, a celebrated British Hispanist affirmed that '[e]n algunas de estas poesías, y en general en el libro todo, se advierte claramente la influencia del poeta francés Paul Verlaine' (3). Clearly, one might say, the critic here was merely acknowledging the existence in Machado's work of well-developed points of contact with that of Paul Verlaine; the choice of the verb 'advierte' would indicate as much. This may be true, but is it not also reasonable to assume that, irrespective of the critic's intention, the term 'influence' should naturally carry with it its more precise causal sense, and so accord to the presence of inter-textual similarities a significance beyond that which the critic may have wished to suggest? There may, of course, be good grounds for speaking of influence with regard to certain of the poems, but one wonders, if the critic were challenged to substantiate his claim, how many of the similarities he could confidently assert to be unequivocally the result of the influence of Verlaine. It is all too easy to assume far more than can actually be demonstrated; and if a critic communicates such an assumption in the course of his activity, then does not that critic risk misleading those he purports to enlighten, given that his suppositions may prove to be in some way ill-founded or erroneous?

The possible consequences in terms of misinformation of over-zealous or undiscriminating use of the term 'influence' argue for a

clear distinction to be established on a conceptual level between the two senses in which the term can be understood. On the level of critical practice, this would call for the creation of two quite distinct methodologies, each designed to explore the phenomenon of influence in one of its two acceptations.

II. INFLUENCES AND CONVENTIONS

If two truly independent methodological systems are to be established, then a clearly-defined criterion is necessary to delimit the sphere of operation of each. Conveniently, the notion of causal influence is by nature highly exclusive, in that it refers to one particular kind of relation between two entities, that of 'agent-patient' or 'emitter-recipient'. A critical approach to the study of literary influences which held this notion as axiomatic would necessarily have very precise and well-defined objectives. These would be either to prove the existence of a causal relation (or at least to determine its likelihood), or, where such a relation was known to exist, to explore the particular form, profile and character of that relation. Clearly, it is quite unjustified to speak of influence in this sense merely on the basis of having discovered inter-textual similarities. Determined investigations are necessary to ascertain how far such similarities may be considered to represent a causal influence. The only reasonable alternative is to consider <u>rapports de fait</u> between two texts other than in terms of the nature of the relationship which exists between them. In this case, the most viable course of action would seem to be to view similarities within the context of a literary historical or cultural tradition, as re-

current features or 'conventions' (4), quite irrespective of the process by which they were transmitted from generation to generation, or, within one particular generation, from author to author. It is thereby possible to avoid the burden of proof that accompanies any suggestion of causal influence, providing, of course, that no intimation of literary debt is made.

The study of conventions in literature is confined to textual evidence (5). Exploration of causal influence, on the other hand, demands that the student of influences takes into consideration factors beyond the rapport de fait. External sources of information, such as documentary evidence of a biographical or autobiographical nature, are of particular significance in this respect. They may help to clarify whether or not a similarity represents an influence. They may identify influences which either did not reach the stage of manifestation in the literary text, or which appear there in a form which does not betray their source (disguised influences). The reliance of the student of causal influences upon external evidence and, indeed, the obligation to look beyond the text itself, reflect the burden of proof which the notion of causality places upon the investigator. What sources of evidence are available in the quest to prove or determine the likelihood of causal influence?

III. THE INFLUENCE ARGUMENT

Evidence of relevance to the question of causal influence may be found, on the one hand, in the work of the presumed recipient of the influence and, on the other hand, in external sources of the kind identified above. In both cases, the

evidence may be conclusive or inconclusive. The text may yield data which prove beyond all doubt that a literary debt was incurred: references to the emitter of the influence, epigraphs taken from his work, paraphrases and imitations. On the contrary, there may be no more than inter-textual similarities displaying varying degrees of resemblance to the presumed source. External evidence, for its part, may be extremely revealing, even taking the form of admissions by a writer that he received an influence. On the other hand, there may be no more than very imprecise indications to the effect that the supposed recipient of influences was familiar with the work of the author whose influence one is attempting to determine.

More often than not, conclusive proof of influence is quite lacking, and one is forced to rely upon the meagre charity of inter-textual similarities. In this case, the only feasible course of action (short of abandoning the enquiry altogether) is to formulate a hypothesis regarding the possibility that a literary debt may have been incurred. An interpretation of the function of such a hypothesis has been advanced by R. Humphris in one of the few studies which have been devoted to the question of how to exploit textual evidence under the circumstances described above:

> If we consider the influence argument, where no external evidence exists, the critic is trying to convince the reader that A is a necessary condition of B, that in all the multiple correlations involved that particular feature is a vital one. He attempts to raise the status of his criteria to a level parallel to the necessary [rather than the merely sufficient] condition of the empirical argument.

Given the burden of proof associated with causal influence, the approach to the question of inconclusive evidence advocated here is logically acceptable in as far as it acknowledges that a causal relation cannot be proven to exist. It suggests, in contrast to proclamations which reflect an indiscriminate and undiscriminating use of the term 'influence', only the possibility of a literary debt. Furthermore, it recognises, indeed stresses the need to support even this modest contention with reasoned argument. The purpose which Humphris confers upon the influence argument, is however, decidedly questionable. The critic speaks of 'trying to convince the reader' not simply of the possibility of an influence, but of its likelihood. This strategy, far from proposing a straightforward calculation of probabilities, amounts to an attempt to maximise the credence which the reader gives to the possibility of influence, irrespective of its actual logical feasibility in relation to alternative explanations for the presence of <u>rapports de fait</u>: sources of influence other than the one which has been assumed, conventions of an epoch, the common currency of a literary tradition, pure coincidence, etc. The suasive means prescribed to achieve this end involves a <u>trucage</u> of reasoning, in which elements of evidence are structured in such a way as to present an entirely convincing case for influence. 'The validity of each individual argument', suggests Humphris, 'depends on the logical validity of its internal structure and the fairness of the succession of elements in it (its reasonableness)' (6). Surely the critic who adopts this strategy is as guilty of failing to respect the burden of proof associated with the investigation of causal influence as the critic who proclaims a literary debt to have been

incurred merely because he discovers inter-textual similarities. In this sense, Humphris's 'influence argument' provides a far from satisfactory response to the question of how to treat evidence which does not offer inconclusive proof of influence. Furthermore, purely from the point of view of logic, is there not something fundamentally absurd in the desire that an influence should be believed to have occurred when this cannot be proven? Why should influence enquiry have to end in some kind of confected resolution to the 'problem' of inconclusive proof? Is it not sufficient, and indeed far more reasonable simply to admit that although the possibility of a literary debt exists, nothing can be proven to a degree of absolute certainty? As Marius-François Guyard has observed, ' [s]ouvent il faudra savoir avouer: voici ce que l'on connaissait de Goethe ou de Dostoievski, à telle époque, en tel pays, et renoncer à prouver des influences précises' (7).

The most reasonable course of action when faced with evidence which does not constitute conclusive proof of influence is, then, to state no more than what the evidence permits to be said. But what precisely does the evidence allow to be concluded? This question acquires particular relevance with regard to the basic unit of evidence of comparative literary study: the inter-textual similarity, or textual rapport de fait.

IV. THE SIMILARITY AS EVIDENCE

Whenever and wherever influences become the topic of critical debate, great store is set by the inter-textual similarity in terms of its value as an indicator of influence. Such is the psychological impact of the rapport de fait that the mere presence in one text of elements which resemble those found in another may

lead a critic to assume de facto the existence of a causal relation. The absolute reliability of the inter-textual similarity as evidence of a possible literary debt does not, however, stand up to close scrutiny.

The significance accorded in influence enquiry to inter-textual similarities derives from two factors. On the one hand, it is logical to assume that influences may manifest themselves in the literary text through the medium of elements which, by virtue of formal, stylistic or thematic resemblances, recall the source whence they derived. This presupposition is supported by evidence drawn from contexts where a literary debt is known to have been incurred (8). On the other hand, that the rapport de fait should acquire the status of evidence of a possible influence is inevitable; more often than not there is no external evidence to support influence, and such points of contact constitute the only material of study which the comparativist has at his disposal. As a result, the inter-textual similarity has come to be considered as the basis of influence enquiry, and indeed, of most kinds of comparative literary investigation. Its standing, however, is not necessarily a valid indication of its value as evidence, particularly in relation to the question of causal influences.

Similarities are deemed to be a reliable indication of the possibility that a literary debt has been incurred. Yet the only similarities which are actually significant in terms of influence are those which can be said to have an objective existence in the text; similarities, that is, which appear by virtue of the fact that the elements which embody them exist as the result of influence. Now, where no unequivocal proof of evidence exists either in the literary text itself or outside, in other documentary

sources, the reader cannot know which of the similarities he encounters (if any) are the result of influence. He identifies similarities and decides which ones are significant (that is, ones which might represent an influence) purely on the basis of his capacity to make comparative and contrastive evaluations of the evidence before his eyes. He has no mysterious sixth sense by which to discern the origin of the resemblances which he detects. The significance which he attributes to the elements wherein he discerns a rapport de fait does not, then, or does not necessarily have an objective existence in the text. It is a phenomenon which originates in his mind, as a result of associations he has made. As such, there can be no guarantee of a coincidence between the similarities which the reader considers to be significant and those which really are significant; between the possibility of influence as perceived by the critic, and its actuality. The rapports de fait which the reader selects as significant may include instances of influence, but his success in identifying real debt will have been purely accidental. Indeed, his selection may include elements whose resemblance to the presumed source is in reality purely coincidental and whose presence is to be explained by other factors: alternative sources of influence, recourse to the conventions of an epoch, the common currency of an artistic or cultural tradition, or just common human experience; or possibly independent original conception. The converse is also true: the reader may fail to detect similarities which actually do represent an influence. There are two reasons why this may occur. On the one hand, however objective a reader tries to be in formulating a definition of a significant similarity, the identification of

rapports de fait will always remain a somewhat arbitrary, subjective process. The criteria by which one determines whether or not a similarity is significant may differ from individual to individual. The human factor may play an important part in key decisions. Personal preference may predispose a reader to acknowledge coincidences of theme but not of form, or vice versa. The ability to detect similarities may itself be impaired by imperfect or deficient knowledge of the range of sources. On the other hand, the significance attributed to a similarity tends to be in proportion to the degree of resemblance it bears to the presumed source. A high degree of resemblance is not, however, a necessary condition of textual influence, nor is it always a reliable indication of a literary debt. A writer, especially an original and gifted writer, who receives a direct influence may subject the source to the action of his own creative imagination in such a way that it resurfaces in his work in an unrecognisable form. This gives rise to what might be called a disguised influence. Where inter-textual similarities are the only source of evidence on which to base influence enquiry, and the degree of resemblance between the similarity and its presumed source the sole criterion on which to assess the possibility of a literary debt, the form in which disguised influences appear means that they are not likely to be deemed significant or, more probably, not even recognised. In this sense, the inter-textual similarities identified by the reader, even if they could be proven to represent influence, would provide only an incomplete account of the extent of literary debt on a textual level, and create thereby a distorted impression of the profile and character of the debt.

Reliance, obligatory or otherwise, upon the inter-textual similarity as the exclusive source of evidence in an influence enquiry results in an incomplete picture of literary debt not only in its textual manifestation but in its entirety, as the impact of formative forces on a writer. Rapports de fait tell of influences in the work of art, but reveal nothing of invisible influences, debts incurred which never reach the level of manifestation in the literary text.

It follows from this that the rapport de fait presents an exclusive, even partial image of the literary debt; one which may condition perception of the nature of influence as a phenomenon and, consequently, as an object of critical examination. Inter-textual similarities offer a picture of influence in its textual embodiment, as something visible and static, the result of a formative process as opposed to the process itself. Such is the prerogative enjoyed by textual evidence in influence enquiry, and so frequently is it the only material available for study, that both the image of influence which it presents and the methodological precepts to which this gives rise readily acquire the status of absolute principles applicable to influence studies in general. As a result, the notion that influence is a textual phenomenon imposes itself tyrannically upon influence enquiry. Influences which precede or occur outside the text are not deemed to constitute an influence; or they are considered to exist only in embryonic form or one that cannot be studied (9). External evidence is considered pertinent only inasmuch as it elucidates textual influence.

This situation is detrimental to a justly comprehensive understanding of influence as a phenomenon, inasmuch as it disregards

the notion of influence as process, and ignores the status of other levels on which formative process may operate as repositories of influences in their own right, deserving of treatment as such. On the other hand, however, one might argue that this state of affairs is not necessarily undesirable, as one of the accepted functions of influence enquiry - one indeed, whence studies of this order may derive their justification - is to help to explain how literary works come into being. To adopt this perspective is, however, to endorse the questionable means by which exclusive emphasis on influences in the work of art comes about; this emphasis being the consequence solely of circumstance - the frequent lack of extra-textual evidence of influence - rather than the product of a conscious, evaluative decision based on sound reasoning. Moreover, there is little reason, assuming one accepts the role of influence in elucidating the genesis of literary works, why the text should be expected to provide a more adequate account of the action of formative processes which may condition the nature of such works than, for example, external testimony of influences or the impact of sources of inspiration upon the writer's mind.

The factors identified above reduce the credibility of the inter-textual similarity as evidence in the study of literary debt. Their existence has the effect of widening the already significant margin of doubt which must be acknowledged in influence enquiry where no conclusive proof of evidence exists. It introduces yet another negative consideration into critical proceedings which, due to the absence of the conditions necessary for the formulation of a conclusive response, can already purport

only to advance a tentative possibility that a debt was incurred. Indeed, the qualifications which have to be expressed in respect of every contention, and the reservations which must be entertained in respect of the value of the hypothesis advanced are so numerous, that one may wonder if there is really any point in studying influences except where their existence is unequivocal and there is no room for speculation and no need for supposition. Such a proposition has in its favour that, in addition to removing the margin of error implicit where no proof of influence exists by dealing with indisputable fact alone, it would also eliminate automatically all the critical malpractices which have grown up either as a result of a lack of conclusive evidence or through indiscriminate and unconsidered use of the term 'influence'. The solution to the uncertainty which surrounds the influence enquiry where no external evidence exists may lie, however, not in doing away with this type of investigation, but in redefining its role. If the function of the influence enquiry changes from that of postulating the possibility of influence as one explanation of a rapport de fait to evaluating the quality of the evidence for influence, then the enquiry can be used as a form of contrôle designed to combat the formulation and dissemination of false assumptions, insubstantiated proclamations regarding the influence of certain authors. In this way the inconclusive nature of the evidence, rather than hindering critical endeavour, acquires a positive value as a yardstick by which to measure the reasonableness of existing presuppositions of literary debt. This mode of enquiry would be particularly useful in cases of the kind which is to be examined in the present study, where many assumptions

regarding Baudelaire's influence in *modernismo* exist, but remain largely untested or unverified.

V. THE INFLUENCE OF BAUDELAIRE

The aim of the present study is, as has been stated above, to test the validity of the assumption common among literary historians that Baudelaire exerted an influence in Spanish *modernismo*. To this end, it will be necessary on the one hand, to isolate unequivocal evidence of literary debt to the French poet and to analyse its significance and, on the other hand, to assess the value of evidence that, notwithstanding its inconclusive nature, may have provided the basis on which his influence has presumed to have been exerted or not, as the case may be.

The position of Baudelaire with respect to the psychological-aesthetic tradition of which his French literary descendents and, later on, the Spanish and Spanish-American *modernistas* partook, is a consideration of prime importance in a study of this kind. Given the extent of Baudelaire's influence upon writers both French and Hispanic who were subsequently to influence the Spanish *modernistas* themselves, there is considerable likelihood that much of the evidence in the work of these writers which indicates a possible debt to Baudelaire, comprises elements which owe their existence to the influence of writers other than Baudelaire or are simply epochal conventions. If a study of the extent of the Spanish *modernistas*' debt to Baudelaire is to be meaningful, it is imperative that his particular influence be distinguished from that of other sources of inspiration. To this end, it would seem logical that the influence of import in the present enquiry is

that which the French poet exerted directly, as opposed to that which may have been received by the modernistas at second hand, either from writers through whom Baudelaire's formative impact was channelled, or as a result of receptivity to the aesthetic conventions in circulation around the turn of the century. Real debt, rather than apparent debt, must necessarily be the focus of investigation. Two precepts can be derived from this premise. On the one hand, the criteria applied in evaluation of data as regards their value as evidence of the possibility of influence must be strictly in accord with those demanded in the study of causal influence. On the other hand, it is desirable that the study of known influences should take precedence over other forms of influence enquiry.

VI. CONCLUSION

The aim of the present study is to trace, or to attempt to trace, a more clearly defined image of Baudelaire's influence in Spanish modernismo than that which exists at present and to establish the extent to which this debt can be assumed to have been incurred. The key to success, or merely to achievement in this endeavour lies in the application of a methodology adequate to the task.

The need to define clearly methodological principles does not derive solely from the particular demands in terms of critical approach presented by the theme chosen for examination. The study of influences is an area of literary critical activity which seems particularly prone to abuse. Influence enquiry is often undertaken with what appears to be little awareness of or even

a positive disregard for the conceptual complexities which underlie the study of literary debt. This state of affairs may owe its existence to the fact that comparative literature has become largely the province of literary historians who are concerned primarily with the evolution of aesthetic ideas. For these critics, 'influence' is little more than a term of convenience. Careful consideration of the phenomenon of influence and of the value of evidence pertinent to its elucidation is therefore necessary if, in an age when the prestige of traditional comparative studies has diminished considerably, the study of literary debt is to acquire the degree of methodological autonomy and credibility achieved by other branches of literary critical activity.

NOTES

1. 'The Problem of Influence in Literary History: Notes towards a definition', Journal of Aesthetics and Art criticism, 14 (1955), pp. 66-77 (p. 66).

2. See René Wellek's discussion of 'the genetically-minded nineteenth century' in 'The Concept of Comparative Literature', Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature, 2 (1953), pp. 1-5, (p. 3).

3. Antonio Machado, Soledades, Galerías y otros poemas, edited by Geoffrey Ribbans (Barcelona: Labor, 1975), p. 21.

4. See Claudio Guillén, 'De influencias y convenciones', 1616, 2 (1979), pp. 87-96.

5. Conventions with literary connections may also be sought outside the text: ie, the behavioural phenomena of dandysme or bohemianism.

6. 'The Influence Argument', British Journal of Aesthetics, 10 (1976), pp. 261-67 (p. 265).

7. La Littérature comparée, 6th edit. (Paris: PUF, 1978), p. 21.

8. An instance of Baudelairian influence in the early work of Juan Ramón Jiménez may be called upon to illustrate this point. In a poem beginning 'Otra vez la esperanza! . . .' (PLP, 1433), the lines '¡Ah, mi vida! ¡Lo mismo que una diosa / mendiga, por sus rotos andrajos muestra el cielo!' recall the image of the beggar girl in Baudelaire's 'A une mendiante rousse' (OC, 95-96). On this occasion, direct influence is confirmed by the presence of an epigraph from the Frenchman's poem.

9. This perspective is presented by Claudio Guillén in an article entitled 'Literatura como sistema', Filología Romanza, 4 (1957), pp. 1-29.

PART TWO

THE DIFFUSION AND CRITICAL RECEPTION OF BAUDELAIRE IN SPAIN

CHAPTER ONE

I. A DECEPTIVELY UNPOPULAR AUTHOR

In the introduction to his documentary study Baudelaire Judged by Spanish critics (Athens [Georgia] 1971), William F. Aggeler warns would-be students of the poet's diffusion in Spain during the nineteenth century that '[h]e was certainly not then wellknown. Indeed, there is practically no mention of him in the Madrid daily press in the nineteenth century' (p. ix). Such conclusions are no doubt quite valid as far as the sources which Aggeler mentions are concerned (1). Regrettably, however, they do not reflect accurately the extent of Baudelaire's representation during the latter half of the nineteenth century, in organs of diffusion other than the daily press. For the purpose of making his generalisation, Aggeler chooses to overlook the weeklies, the perioducal reviews, and, of course, criticism and chronicle published in book form. Although, to be fair, he does give token acknowledgement to the fact that critical response to Baudelaire was more diverse than his categorical opening statement suggests when he adds that '[i]n all, there was little written about Baudelaire during the nineteenth century, and what was published appeared in the eighties and the nineties' (p. ix). All the same his tone remains unmistakably negative. While not wishing to dispute the American critic's contention that Spanish critical response to Baudelaire during the closing decades of the last century was, on the whole, not outstanding either in terms of quantity or quality, it must nevertheless be emphasised that the picture was not quite as bleak as his affirmations seem to suggest. This is partly due to the fact that Aggeler fails to record

a number of instances of diffusion, some of which are highly significant. Important translations of a number of Baudelaire's works appeared towards the end of the nineteenth century, to be followed by others of equal importance in the first decade of the twentieth. Indeed, one might point out at this juncture that examination of the distribution of these and other forms of reference to Baudelaire in Spain does not reveal any evidence as to why the exact turn of the century should be considered as a threshold in the development of critical opinion regarding Baudelaire. A far more meaningful picture emerges if the facts are left to speak for themselves and reveal categories, chronological or otherwise, into which they logically fall. Taking this into account, it can be observed that although the majority of the appearances which the poet made in the Spanish press between the 1880s and the years approaching 1910 were somewhat fleeting, he was in the course of them quoted, classified and judged. As a result there exists a sufficient corpus of information from which to elaborate a number of viable generalisations about Spanish critical reaction to him.

At the same time, however, it is important to maintain a sense of proportion regarding the potential for exploitation offered by the evidence. There is always a temptation in diffusion and reception studies to seek in the material under examination, not only an image of the subject to whom it refers, but also, and perhaps even more so, a reflection of the ideological, aesthetic or literary historical identity of its authors. In the case of the present study, it is a temptation which must be resisted. Obviously, when the allusions to Baudelaire are considered in their entirety, one cannot fail

to perceive the outline of certain broad divisions of this kind, separating some critics from others and explaining the nature of their response or, in the case of diffusion, their selectivity. Nevertheless, the influence of Baudelaire's commentators' affiliations on patterns of critical reaction is frequently overridden by other factors. Certain aspects of the poet's work, for example, repeatedly attracted attention and sometimes even gave rise to similar responses in groups of critics of different generations and loyalties. To discover the reasons why Baudelaire provoked the response he did and to come to visualise on the basis of this the image which formed in his commentators' minds at the mention of his name, seems a far more laudable aim for a comparative study. We should not relegate the study of critical reaction of its subject (and by implication that subject itself) to a subsidiary role, serving aims quite alien to those which comparative literature may serve if not reduced to being the instrument of extrinsic concerns. The present study will therefore attempt to minimise the exploitation of critical evidence as a source of feedback regarding artistic developments of the time, and concentrate upon what seems to be a more appropriate function for diffusion and reception studies. This will involve piecing together the image of the poet held in Spain and tracing its development as reflected in variations in sympathy towards him and understanding him. To this end, a determined effort will be made not to lose sight of the effective potential of various aspects of Baudelaire's life, works and legend, as a factor at least equal in importance to the ideological predispositions of the critic

when explaining the latter's motives and criteria for selectivity. When faced with a situation the solution to which seems to lie in ascertaining why a critic reacted to a writer in the way he did, one is apt to be drawn away from considering the writer himself (even when he is the true object of study) and so to overlook the fact that it is equally important to identify which aspects of his work or biography the critic most responded to and why these took on the importance that they did. In this way, while it still remains necessary to account for the origins of the critic's response, enquiry of this kind should be seen as playing an instrumental role in the wider aim of assessing the degree of justness, completeness and impartiality of the writer's critical image which emerges from the evidence studied.

We will now proceed to examine Baudelaire's diffusion in Spain between the years 1857 and 1910. This will comprise a survey, first of the Spanish translations of his work available during this period, and then of a representative cross-section of references and allusions to the poet, illustrating the range and scope of critical comment. The latter will be arranged in increasing order of categorization of the poet, beginning with allusions to and quotations from individual works or pieces and concluding with comments which provide an introduction to the more specific areas to be covered in the reception studies which follow.

II. TRANSLATIONS

The first significant printed contribution to the diffusion of Baudelaire in Spain came in the year 1868, when, as José Simón Díaz notes in his biographical article 'La literatura francesa en

veinticuatro diarios madrileños de 1830-1900', the newspaper La Epoca announced in its edition of the 27 December that the first two volumes of Baudelaire's complete works had been published in Paris (2). Nothing further came to light until 1882, when the first of a number of translations to be published in the press and in book form up until the end of the period covered by the present study, appeared in the fortnightly literary review La Diana. The text in question was Baudelaire's short novel La Fanfarlo, which appeared in three parts during the course of April and May (3), the translation being carried out by Aniceto Valdivia. Exactly three months later Spanish versions of four prose poems from Le Spleen de Paris: 'El extranjero' ('L'Etranger', OC, 148), 'El confiteor del artista' ('Le Confiteor de l'artiste', OC, 149), 'El pastel' ('Le Gâteau', OC, 157) and 'El mal vidriero' ('Le Mauvais Vitrier', OC, 151-52), appeared in the mid-August issue of the same review (4). These were followed one month later by a continuation comprising 'La invitación al viaje' ('L'Invitation au voyage', OC, 159-60) and 'Retratos de queridas' ('Portraits de maîtresses', OC, 176-77) (5). Further translations were promised but never materialised.

Some eight years later the first book-length translation appeared under the auspices of La España Moderna bearing the title of Los paraísos artificiales. For want of more precise information, Palau y Dulcet lists the date of publication as 'hacia 1890' (6). This is confirmed in the index to the review for the years 1889-1897, where the title is identified as number 130 in a series of modern classics priced at three pesetas each.

When Les Paradis artificiels appeared the next time, in 1894, it was not as a book but in the recently launched monthly

Revista Internacional. The second, February, issue contained the introduction, plus the first three sections of the study: 'La afición al infinito' ('Le Goût de l'infini'), '¿Qué es el haschich?' ('Qu'est-ce que le haschisch?') and 'Teatro infantil' ('Le Théâtre de séraphin') (pp. 178-200), leaving the March number to conclude the translation with 'El hombre dios' ('L' Homme-Dieu') and 'Moral' ('Morale') (pp. 154-67). During the next two months translations of Baudelaire's work continued to grace the pages of the review, with another version of La Fanfarlo (7), followed one issue later by El joven mago, a translation of Le Jeune Enchanteur, which the poet had himself translated from English (8). The absence, now uncharacteristic, of any translations of the Frenchman's work in the June issue was compensated for by the seventy page long Un tomador de opio ('Un Mangeur d'opium', OC, 584-616) in July, while the August edition saw Baudelaire's remaining study of intoxicants and stimulants, 'Du vin et du hachish', (OC, 303-12) translated into Spanish under the title of 'El vino y el haschich' (pp. 109-28).

The year 1905 saw the publication of three major works of translation. In one of these, Pedro González Blanco followed a well-trodden path with yet another version of Les Paradis artificiels (Valencia 1905). The other two, however, were of considerably greater importance, being the most significant contributions to the diffusion of Baudelaire's creative production in Spain that had been made until that time. These were Eusebio Heras's Pequeños poemas en prosa (Barcelona 1905) and Eduardo Marquina's Las flores del mal (Madrid 1905). They represent a climactic moment in the introduction of Baudelaire's works to the Spanish reading public during the years covered by

the present study, being followed only by another translation of La Fanfarlo by Luis Ruiz Contreras (Madrid 1910). The two existing examples of critical reaction to Marquina's translation offered somewhat differing opinions of its merits. That which Bernardo González de Candamo expressed in a letter to Rubén Darío in 1906 contained reservations regarding its faithfulness to the style of the original, implying that this was the result of a moral purpose which had been realized in its execution:

> Marquina tradujo Las flores del mal. La traducción cumple su fin moralizador. Es una traducción diversa. Los versos suenan simultáneamente a Marquina y a Baudelaire en vez de sonar sólo a Baudelaire (9).

The review of the translation which appeared in the Revista Contemporánea in February 1907, on the other hand, applauded Marquina's success in conveying the force of the original, and the brief summary of the character of the work which appeared in the paragraph which followed said nothing to foster the impression that the translator tampered with or attempted to disguise in some fashion the sentiments expressed in Les Fleurs du Mal, which is what one would suppose a 'fin moralizador' to attempt:

> Las composiciones no han perdido nada de su original vigor, y la obra viene a traer a nuestro campo literario una precisión sobria y una fuerza de concisión desconocidas entre nosotros.
>
> Las tintas viciosas, las rojas tintas sensuales de la pasión y el mal vienen contrarrestados en el libro de Baudelaire por su hidrópica sed de ideal, que de un vigoroso aletazo le levanta desde el fango a las estrellas (pp. 248-49).

Examination of the translations themselves tends to bear out, at least initially, the assessment made in the review.

Evidence for González de Candamo's criticism seems to be lacking, or at least one searches in vain for traces of the kinds of modification - manipulation of meaning, accentuation or suppression of key aspects of content, inordinate emphasis accorded to elements expressing the moral thrust which the translator favoured - which one would expect to find associated with an attempt to influence the impression the poems would make on a reader's moral sensibility. In none of these ways did Marquina pull or divert the punches thrown in the original by Baudelaire. That is not to say, of course, that in some aspects the poems do differ, and on occasions quite markedly from the original, as the following examples, taken from the second edition of the translation (Madrid 1916) show. In the Spaniard's versions of the poems, one can occasionally find additions: 'Eternel et muet ainsi que la matière' ('La Beauté', OC, 53) became 'eterno y duro como la materia inclemente' ('La Belleza', p. 115). There are also omissions. 'Comme un oeil sanglant qui palpite et qui bouge' ('Le Crépuscule du matin', OC, 106) was shortened to 'como pupila que palpita y se encoja' ('El crepúsculo de la mañana', p. 293). Lexical substitutions also occur, as in 'Ne savent plus trouver d'impudique toilette / Pour tirer un sourire de ce jeune squelette' (OC, 85 and 88) which became 'aún no han dado con el impúdico amuleto / que arranque una sonrisa al joven esqueleto' ('Spleen', p. 204). Another example of this is to be found in the translation of 'Le Revenant' (OC, 80), where the lines 'Comme d'autres par la tendresse / Sur ta vie et sur ta jeunesse, / Moi, je veux régner par l'effroi' became 'Otros por la ternura, / reinan en tu hermosura' (El espectro', p. 189). Phraseology and syntax were also reformulated:

'Pour que tu puisses faire à Jésus, quand il passe, / Un tapis triomphal avec ta charité' ('Le Rebelle', OC, 93), for example, was restructured as 'Porque al pasar Jesús tiendas humildemente, / como un tapiz triunfal tu santa caridad' ('El rebelde', p. 282). In certain cases, the freedom assumed in elaborating a translation resulted in the loss of a precise image or phrase. Thus, the lines 'C'était l'heure où l'essaim des rêves malfaisants / Tord sur leurs oreillers les bruns adolescents' ('Le Crépuscule du matin', OC, 106) was modified to read 'Era la hora en que vaga pesadilla indolente / tortura en sus almohadas al bruno adolescente' ('El crepúsculo de la mañana', p. 293) and, in the same poem, 'Les femmes de plaisir, la paupière livide' became 'Las hijas del placer en actitudes muertas'. Another example is to be seen in the change of 'Et la mortalité sur les faubourgs brumeux' ('Spleen', OC, 85) to 'Y la mortalidad sobre la gente obrera' ('Spleen', p. 201 - My italics).

Once one examines the context in which these modifications occur, their explanation is readily discerned. It is not even necessary to look further than the few illustrations quoted above to see that such changes owe their existence to prosodic considerations, in particular the exigencies of rhyme and metre. The word 'toilette' in Spleen was replaced by 'amuleto' because the latter rhymed with 'esqueleto' at the end of the following line, while 'inclemente' was added to the line in 'La Belleza' to give the correct number of syllables. It thus appears that Marquina was willing to sacrifice literal faithfulness and slavish respect for precise detail in the cause of the overall effect to be achieved from a verse translation which, moreover, sounded natural rather than forced or contrived. By

this means he succeeded in simulating in Spanish the rhythmic fluency of Les Fleurs du Mal. The measure of Marquina's achievement, as well as his skill as a versifier, are to be seen in the fact that the meaning and spirit of the original poems remained on the whole unaltered in spite of the apparent gravity of some of the modifications. It would therefore certainly be difficult to argue that González de Candamo's judgement of the translations implied that the modifications to the original were used directly as a means of censorship, curbing the effect of what might have been considered excessive, offensive, or out of line with the translator's own view of life, and changing the moral character of the poems by manipulating their meaning. Marquina shrank neither from depicting content, however unsavoury, nor from communicating the message which it was its role to convey. The fourth and fifth stanzas of 'Una carroña' (pp. 131-32),

> Miraba el cielo la carroña gigantesca
> abrirse como una flor:
> casi te desmayaste sobre la yerba fresca
> con el punzante mal olor.
>
> Pululaban las moscas por aquel vientre obeso
> y larvas y gusarapos,
> negro ejército, iban, como un líquido espeso,
> por los vivientes harapos,

provide a commendably vivid and accurate equivalent of the original:

> Et le ciel regardait la carcasse superbe
> Comme une fleur s'épanouir.

La puanteur était si forte, que sur l'herbe
Vous crûtes vous évanouir.

Les mouches bourdonnaient sur ce ventre putride,
D'où sortaient de noirs bataillons
De larves, qui coulaient comme un épais liquide
Le long de ces vivants haillons
(OC, 58).

One might object that 'obeso' (l.1, st. 5) lacks the force of 'putride'. Taken in its context, however, the term not only facilitates a rhyme with the next line but provides a graphic evocation - the corpse swollen with the gases of decomposition - of a characteristic which Baudelaire stated more directly. The conclusion of the poem and the spirit in which it is expressed also remain the same:

- Et pourtant vous serez semblable à cette ordure,
A cette horrible infection,
Etoile de mes yeux, soleil de ma nature,
Vous, mon ange et ma passion!

-¡Pensar que tú serás igual que esta basura
y que esta horrible infección,
estrella de mis ojos, sol de mi noche obscura,
tú, mi Angel y mi pasión! (10).

A similar respect for the original is to be observed in 'Un viaje a Cíteres' (pp. 321-23). Compare stanzas 8 and 9, with their menacing gallows which

Se destaca en el cielo, como un ciprés, obscura.
Hay pájaros de presa sobre la carnadura

del ahorcado: su pico se clava hasta la hartura,
en las grietas sangrientas de aquella podridura.

Sus ojos son dos cuencos: cuelgan del vientre [abierto
los intestinos grasos, a los muslos pegados;
sus verdugos en hórridos orgías embriagados,
de salpicada sangre dejáronle cubierto.

with the corresponding lines from 'Un Voyage à Cythère' (OC, 117):

De féroces oiseaux perchés sur leur pâture
Détruisaient avec rage un pendu déjà mûr,
Chacun plantant, comme un outil, son bec impur
Dans tous les coins saignants de cette pourriture;

Les yeux étaient deux trous, et du ventre éffondré
Les intestins pesants lui coulaient sur les cuisses,
Et ses bourreaux, gorgés de hideuses délices,
L'avaient à coups de bec absolument châtré.

Once again, the moral is expressed equally forcefully:

Ridicule pendu, tes douleurs sont les miennes!
Je sentis, à l'aspect de tes membres flottants,
Comme un vomissement, remonter vers mes dents
Le long fleuve de fiel des douleurs anciennes;

¡Oh, ridículo ahorcado, tu dolor es el mío!
Yo sentía a la vista de tus miembros pendientes,
como un vómito amargo volverme hasta los dientes
de la hiel de mis penas el olvidado río.

The same point can be made with respect to the poems of blasphemy. A summary of the meaning of the opening lines of 'La negación de San Pedro' (pp. 329-31), which are some of the most radically reconstructed of the whole book:

> ¿Y el Señor, en sus claras diademas,
> no se burla de nuestros anatemas?
> ¿Turbarán mis blasfemias los confines
> que guardan los devotos serafines?
> ¿O arrullarán, como un rumor lejano,
> el sueño del Tirano?

would be equally applicable to 'Le Reniement de Saint Pierre' (OC, 119):

> Qu'est-ce que Dieu fait donc de ce flot
> [d'anathèmes
> Qui monte tous les jours vers ses chers
> [Séraphins?
> Comme un tyran gorgé de viande et de vins,
> Il s'endort au doux bruit de nos affreux
> [blasphèmes.

The only reproach which one might possibly make of Marquina is that on occasions his concern to achieve natural rhythmic fluency took precedence over the development of other poetic qualities, and so transferred the effective power of the poem away from judicious syntheses of lexical, grammatical and prosodic elements within the line, designed to give a particular emphasis to the content, towards the dynamic of the overall rhythmic structure. The result is that the original resonance of a particular element of content is lost or quickly overtaken by the energetic advance of rhymebound rhetoric. The opening stanza of 'Quejas de un Icaro' (p. 241) provides an illustration of this feature when compared with the corresponding lines from 'Les Plaintes d'un Icare' (OC, 85):

¡Oh, tú que a la boharda subes
de una ramera a darle abrazos,
ve en paz! Yo me he roto los brazos
porque he querido abrazar a las nubes.

Les amants des prostituées
Sont heureux, dispos et repus;
Quant à moi, mes bras sont rompus
Pour avoir étreint des nuées.

Here, the meaning of both verses is clearly compatible: those who court the affections of the most unspiritual, earthly of women at least gain a sense of serenity and satisfaction from their lovemaking, whereas the only reward which the poet who seeks to embrace a fleeting vision of Beauty receives is the exhaustion and sense of defeat in the face of the futility of his enterprise. Differences come to light, however, when the first of the two affirmations found in the verses are subjected to closer examination. In the original French, the simple, direct, undramatic way in which the statement is expressed indicates that it is the bitter reflection of an exhausted spirit fallen into abject resignation. In the Spanish translation, on the other hand, such sentiments are lost. The reflection is turned into an affirmation in direct speech, and the factual simplicity of its original expression replaced by a declamatory tone, which almost invites visualisation as a fragment of a dramatic monologue. This tendency can be seen to persist throughout the translated poem as a whole. Each of the stanzas of Baudelaire's model subtly reflects the development of the poet's meditation on his condition,

passing from the sombre awareness embodied in the first verse, through rising despair as the insight imposes itself on the poet's mind, to the despairing sense of impotence in the face of one's fate with which the poem ends. In Marquina's version, however, the steady, uniform progression of the rhyme scheme tends to keep nuances of this kind in the background, by adapting the expression of the content to its own needs. Possibly González de Candamo was referring to this very feature when he said that the translated poems bore the seal of the translator's style as well as that of the author. It is true that the sheer desire to versify seems to have been a prominent consideration in Marquina's own poetry, such as Odas (1901) and Cantos de la Vendimia (1909), in which the rhyming element is very strong and clearly governs the way the content is expressed. A dramatic vigour or a relentless pulsation of reaffirmed rhythmical patterns pervades all that is said. In the light of this, the elaboration of a hypothesis to explain González de Candamo's opinion that Marquina was guided in his translation of Les Fleurs du Mal by making it the result of 'fin moralizador' does become possible. By according so much emphasis to the rhyming structure of the poems, the translator could have injected a uniform tone of vigour into them through purely mechanical means. The effect of this would have been to disperse the psychological poignancy which Baudelaire nurtured in the original poems, and in which the force of their implicit moral dimension was to be found.

III. FRENCH PERSPECTIVES

Spanish critical reaction to Baudelaire would probably

have grown entirely from direct knowledge of his works, either in the original or through translation, had not certain critical material been available to influence understanding of the poet. It is clear in retrospect that this material was as instrumental in determining Spanish attitudes to the poet as his own works would have been. It would be an oversight not to take such material into account, for in Spain it was as much a primary source of information regarding the poet as his works themselves. We are referring here to critical studies of the poet originating in France, and which came to the attention of the Spanish reading public.

1. The 'Notice' of Théophile Gautier

The most significant of these was, perhaps, the Notice composed by Théophile Gautier. This was included in the 1868 Lévy edition of the Oeuvres complètes, the publication of which, it will be recalled, was announced in the Spanish press in December of the same year. It reappeared subsequently in Spanish, first in the Revista Internacional in 1894 (11), and then preceding Marquina's 1905 translation of Les Fleurs du Mal. It was the first full-length study of Baudelaire and his works to appear in France as well as Spain. Further reasons for its importance have been noted by Aggeler:

> The Notice is a splendid piece of writing, a fine critique not only of the poems but of all Baudelaire's other works. While Gautier goes so far as to quote Baudelaire's aesthetic beliefs, the Notice is far from being a simple study of the works; it presents ideas with which its author had been concerned for thirty years; it represents a new literary theory which shocked the conservatives and delighted

> those who wanted something new in literature. Gautier was much better known than Baudelaire and passed for an authority on literary criticism. As a result the Notice had great influence on public opinion of Baudelaire. This was particularly true in Spain where Gautier's Voyage en Espagne (1843) and his poems, España (1845), had endeared him to the Spanish people. The influence of the Notice lasted half a century because the Lévy edition of Baudelaire's works was the only inexpensive one available until 1917, when Baudelaire's writings went into the public domain (op. cit., p. xi).

The Notice was indeed a highly comprehensive study, exploring four major aspects of the poet's life and works: his biography and personality, his aesthetic, the content, style and versification of Les Fleurs du Mal, and the other major works (the translations of Poe, the art criticism, Les paradis artificiels and the prose poems). Gautier displayed a favourable attitude towards the poet, though this did not effect the honesty of his presentation or the accuracy of his judgements. He was particularly careful to rectify popular misconceptions regarding Baudelaire which had been engendered by critics who had failed to understand the significance of his poetry. In his portrait of Baudelaire the man, Gautier shunned anecdote. Instead, he remained firmly within the realm of factual reminiscence, with the result that his rich insight into the poet's temperament was displayed to its best advantage. He noted the elegance carefully pruned of exhuberance which was characteristic of Baudelaire's manner, describing it, in the same term as that chosen by the poet himself, as dandyism. Gautier confessed to having been struck by the singularity of Baudelaire's behaviour, but denied categorically that it was the result of affectation or a conscious effort to appear original in the eyes

of his acquaintances, as had been suggested by some:

> Con frecuencia se ha acusado a Baudelaire de incongruencia combinada, de originalidad buscada y obtenida a toda costa, y, sobre todo, de manerismo. . . . Hay gentes que son, naturalmente, amaneradas. La simplicidad sería, en ellas, una pura afectación y como una especie de manerismo inverso. . . . Baudelaire tenía el espíritu hecho de este modo; y allá donde la crítica ha querido ver el trabajo, el esfuerzo, la violencia y el paroxismo del prejuicio, no había más que el libre y fácil desenvolvimiento de su individualidad (Las flores del mal, ed. cit., pp. 19-20).

As regards Baudelaire's art, Gautier drew attention to the poet's characteristic style, and it was in this context that he elaborated his famous definition of the style of the Decadence. This, according to the critic, was not a phenomenon which could be explained purely in terms of formal considerations, but was rather a response on the level of artistic expression to a sensibility which bore all the stigmata of the ageing civilisation which had nurtured it:

> El poeta de Las flores del mal amaba el que se llama impropiamente estilo de la decadencia y que no es otra cosa que el arte llegado a aquel punto de madurez extrema que determinan con sus oblicuos soles las civilizaciones que envejecen: estilo ingenioso, complicado, sabio, lleno de matices y rebuscas, echando siempre más allá los límites de la lengua, . . . esforzándose por expresar el pensamiento en lo que tiene de más inefable, y la forma en sus contornos más fugitivos y móviles, escuchando . . . las confidencias sutiles de la neurosis; las confesiones de la pasión envejecida que se deprava y las alucinaciones estrambóticas de la idea fija que tiende a la locura. . . . pero así ha de ser el idioma fatal y necesario de los pueblos y de las civilizaciones en que la vida ficticia se sobrepone a la vida natural y desenvuelve en el hombre necesidades desconocidas (ibid., pp. 21-22).

For Gautier, therefore, the style of the decadence as evolved by

Baudelaire had its origins in a desire to reflect the spirit of modern existence, of which the poet believed himself to be a fateful and fated representative, with its neurotic blend of complexity and existential exhaustion and degraded instinctive life. The critic also saw this desire as the source of Baudelaire's cult of the artificial, depraved taste, and rejection of the natural.

The Notice also reproached public and critical opinion for their erroneous interpretation of the less palatable aspects of Baudelaire's poetry, such as his satanism, his depravity and the depiction of horrible or obscene subject matter, as being symptomatic of a perverse obsession with corruption, vice and sin, or an unscrupulous quest for original and shocking effects. Baudelaire, Gautier assured, had sung of evil and the like, not out of adoration but because he believed, as Poe had, in the innate perversity of mankind. The attraction which themes pervaded by such reprehensible qualities seemed to hold for the poet, did not exist in the sense that the public conceived it to do. It was simply that a taste for such things was natural - if that is the right word - to the spirit of modern civilisation, which Baudelaire wished to encapsulate in his writings. Furthermore, the presence of repugnant subject matter in his poems was not due to an unhealthy fixation with the same, but so that he might transform it into a new kind of artistic beauty infused with a possibly unaccommodating or disturbing, though ultimately intriguing or even fascinating poignancy. Indeed, Gautier noted that the creation of beauty was the raison d'être of Baudelaire's art, which the poet had professed to have no aim outside itself. As if to counter the objections of those who

still refused to see a certain sincerity in Baudelaire's aesthetic motives, and in response to the charge of materialism which had been levelled against the poet, the critic recalled that the decor of Spleen did not exist alone in his poetry, being compensated and counterbalanced by Idéal. Gautier emphasised the authenticity of the spiritual dimension of Les Fleurs du Mal, offering as proof the poet's rejection of philanthropic and utilitarian humanitarian ideals in favour of a religious conception of human existence, and the theory of correspondances, which bore witness to the poet's gift of a mystic visionary faculty. The dualism of Baudelaire's thought was once more reflected in one of three thematic issues regarding Les Fleurs du Mal which the critic mentioned in passing. This was the polarisation within his image of woman, which encompassed the most abject carnality and inaccessible spirituality, with the perverse personifications of La Beauté somewhere in between. The other features alluded to were the multifaceted image of the cat, and the importance Baudelaire appeared to accord to smell in the hierarchy of the senses.

Regarding the technical aspects of Baudelaire's poetry, the Notice made reference to the punctiliousness which it was in the poet's nature to display when planning and executing his compositions and the rigorous care he would take to achieve correctness of style.

2. A critical appendix

There also appeared in the 1868 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal a critical accompaniment to the Notice in the form of the Appendice, comprising a series of articles and letters written by friends

and supporters of Baudelaire at the time of the trial for obscenity (1857). Perhaps the most informative of these, at least in terms of the number of features relevant to the poet's aesthetics and works which it enumerated, was the essay written by Jules Barbey D'Aurevilly. Although the author of Les Diaboliques identified total pessimism and hard-hitting satanism as characteristics of central importance, he dismissed the claim behind public outcry that Les Fleurs du Mal would corrupt as unfounded. According to Barbey, the vices depicted by Baudelaire were typical of modern man, who nurtured them and came under their influence without realising it. The poet had simply chosen to acknowledge their existence and action, and by focusing upon them, awoke the sense of revulsion stemming from awareness of their consequences. Baudelaire's treatment of corruption and sin was therefore a form of twisting the knife in his own moral wounds (and by extension those of his fellow men), so that shying away from recognition of his spiritual condition became an impossibility.

Barbey nevertheless admitted that one might still think that Les Fleurs du Mal made a cult out of vice, were it not for the aspiration to Idéal which punctuated the blasphemies and lamentations and made Baudelaire a fundamentally Christian poet. The critic also identified other aspects which gave proof of Baudelaire's spirituality. Having noted that the poet's aesthetic standpoint showed all the trappings of a purely materialistic concern with form: he was conscious in composition, a perfectionist in form, and cultivated artifice, Barbey pointed out that he nevertheless had a depth of inspiration lacking in the pure formalism of art for art's sake. Similarly, Baudelaire's

poetry of the senses was described by the critic, not as mere carnality but as a means of access to the spiritual infinite.

Equally favourable was the testimony provided by the poet's faithful friend Charles Asselineau, who did not attempt to disguise the possibility that Baudelaire's work might offend, but claimed that true art had no duty to be innocuous or fit only for the eyes of innocent young girls. Baudelaire, he claimed, had been responsible for creating something genuinely new and vital at a time when insipid, lifeless imitations and empty technical exercises proliferated. The poet's success, continued Asselineau, had lain in his ability to recognise the new condition of poetry - exploration of the workings of the human soul, as opposed to epic sentiments - and to develop its expression by experimenting with plastic and concrete imagery. Baudelaire was indeed said to possess a singular talent for evoking sensations, moods and atmospheres.

The prestigious Sainte-Beuve was more reserved in his expression of support. The tone of his letter, which was indulgent rather than reassuring, and his refusal to commit himself to anything but tacit praise carefully counterbalanced by a few judicious reservations, betray loyalty made faithless by an unwillingness to compromise himself. He began with the observation that Baudelaire was an exponent of pure art, who sought inspiration anywhere, even in satanism. Sainte-Beuve confessed that he found that Baudelaire gave the impression of enjoying developing such subject matter, though no doubt the suffering that led him to express his exasperation was genuine. The critic noted the existence of more positive spiritual forces, in the form of Idéal, with approval, but regretted that they could not have been seen to triumph more often

in the poems. He similarly remarked that it might have been to Baudelaire's advantage to allow spontaneous passion, which the poet rejected in favour of reasoned deliberation and calculation, to influence his mode of composition rather more than it did.

The letter written by the Marquis de Custine also dubbed Baudelaire as an original innovator, and accounted for the unsavoury nature of some of his subject matter in terms of the need to reflect the moral sickness of civilisation at that time. He departed from the pattern of common ground built up in the preceding studies, however, by attributing the choice of such themes to the poet's affiliation to the Realist school, an association which Baudelaire categorically denied in a footnote.

3. Bourget and the psychology of Decadence

As well as the Notice and Appendice, which to all intents and purposes could be considered to form an integral part of the text of Baudelaire's works, there existed a number of independent studies which also came to be known in Spain. The first of these to be published was the chapter dedicated to the poet by Paul Bourget in his Essais de psychologie contemporaine (Paris 1885) Bourget was well known as a writer in Spain. An examination of dated translations of his works into Spanish reveals that no less than fourteen were made, principally of novels, during the period up until and including 1910. During the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, he received frequent mention in the Spanish press. Bourget was, like Baudelaire, the subject of an essay by Clarín, who also recommended his study of the poet in the Essais to Spanish readers in the first of his own seven articles on

Baudelaire published in La Ilustración Ibérica in 1887 (12).

In his analysis of Baudelaire, Bourget attempted to identify the psychological reality which lay behind the characteristic aspects of the poet's verses. In the course of so doing, the critic echoed a number of the points which had been made by Gautier in the Notice. He noted the polarity, sometimes blended, of carnal and spiritual love, the poet's disdain for the idea of progress emanating from the nineteenth century doctrines of materialistic humanism, and vindicated the authenticity of Baudelaire's behavioural and aesthetic motives, explaining that the poet's seemingly contrived and affected manner was in fact natural to him, and that the decor of corruption and malaise that inhabited his poetry was a reflection of his sensibility and not a calculated attempt to épater for effect.

The conclusion which emerged repeatedly from the three sections of the essay was that the interior drama of Baudelaire was essentially that of modern man. Baudelaire, in effect, had established a connection between his own spiritual condition, or configuration of consciousness, of which he was deeply aware, and the civilisation to which he belonged. The first aspect of Baudelaire's psychology which Bourget tackled was the poet's attitude to love. He identified three principal features: a tendency to mysticism, by which he referred to the idealisation and spiritualisation of woman and the divinization of the sentiment of love; libertinage, that is, delight in the most vulgar sensual qualities of woman and indulgence of the carnal appetite to the point of perversion and sadism; and finally what he called 'l'esprit de l'analyse dans l'amour', the omnipresent self-consciousness which remained intact even during the most

frenetic moments of libidinous excess. Bourget saw the first two as interlinked and the last as permeating and enveloping them. For the critic, the blend of these characteristics was as significant as their existence:

> Trois hommes vivent à la fois dans cet homme, unissant leurs sensations pour mieux presser le coeur et en exprimer jusqu' à la dernière goutte de la sève rouge et chaude. Ces trois hommes sont bien modernes, et plus moderne encore est leur réunion. La crise d'une foi religieuse, la vie à Paris et l'esprit scientifique du temps ont contribué à façonner, puis à fondre ces trois sensibilités, jadis séparées jusqu' à paraître irréductibles l'une à l'autre, et les voici liées jusqu' à paraître inséparables, au moins dans cette créature, sans analogue avant le XIXe. siècle français, qui fut Baudelaire (p. 7).

Bourget then turned his attention to Baudelaire's pessimism, which he saw as a result of a 'désaccord entre l'homme et le milieu' (p. 10), leading to the conviction that by some fatal inevitability life would never correspond to one's inner aspirations. Consequently, a sense of futility and impotence became so deep-seated in the spirit that the ennui which it engendered took on the characteristics of a constitutional affliction. Bourget went on, however, to make two interesting qualifications regarding the poet's malaise. The first was that although it could be regarded as a psychological illness, the fact that it was a condition made inevitable by the discrepancy between man and milieu meant that it was as logical and natural a consequence of the vital circumstances in which the poet existed as a sense of harmonious well-being is of health. It was not, therefore, a true pathological state, which would have been the result of the deterministic influence of such circumstances being frustrated. The second observation was that Baudelaire's

malaise, far from being an isolated phenomenon, was representative of a widespread affliction, affecting Europe from one extreme to the other. The cause was universal: material progress had complicated the soul of modern man by relieving him of the primary human task of survival and allowing less immediate spiritual appetites to come to the fore. The natural forces governing the outside world, however, continued to operate, with the result that a disharmony was created between 'nos besoins de civilisés et la réalité des causes extérieures' (p. 12). In the final part of the study, Bourget examined the theory of decadence, which he interpreted as Baudelaire's courageous attempt to transform awareness of his vital condition and its attendant sensibility into aesthetic terms.

Bourget's definition of the theory of decadence revealed a penetrating insight into the essence of the phenomenon, and an understanding, not only of its characteristic components, but of their origin and the relationship existing between them, which was comparable to that of Gautier. He located its roots in the sensibility of modern man, and identified, like Gautier, those features which have come to be recognised as the hallmarks of the decadent mind: self-regard, the perversion of instinctive life, artificiality, a combination of refinement and depravity, and the sombre, world-weary melancholy of Spleen. As such, both Bourget's chapter on Baudelaire in the Essais and Gautier's Notice were ideal vehicles for the introduction of Baudelaire in Spain. Since as analyses they penetrated to the very heart of the decadent sensibility in Baudelaire, and presupposed no prior knowledge of the development of French literature, they would have enabled Spaniards to overcome the difficult problem

of adjusting to the literary historical referentials of an alien culture and to avoid falling into the kinds of misunderstanding that otherwise might have arisen. Nevertheless, to say that the Spanish reading public did actually learn from these excellent means of initiation into the mysteries of Baudelairian consciousness would presuppose an equanimity on their part that perhaps in reality was not as widespread as it might have been hoped. The traditionalist critics of the Spanish establishment baulked at the mere mention of satanism, as we shall soon see, and it is more likely that once their suspicions regarding the moral character of the poet had been aroused, they would have been all but blind to the rich substance of the studies. In all probability, such critics would have been rather more predisposed to turn for an appreciation of the poet and his works to the likes of Fernand Brunetière, whose attitude to Baudelaire we will now examine.

4. Denigration and anecdote

Brunetière was an established critic and editor of La Revue des Deux Mondes whose vehement anti-Baudelairian stance displayed a number of the opinions attacked by Gautier and others as unjust and erroneous. His uncharitable treatment of the poet deservedly earned the censure of Clarín in the first of the articles which the Asturian critic wrote on Baudelaire in La Ilustración Ibérica. The precise source of Clarín's indignation was a review of Eugène Crépet's Charles Baudelaire (Paris 1887), which the French critic used as a pretext to denigrate the poet ('Revue Littéraire. Charles Baudelaire', Revue des Deux Mondes, 81 [1887], pp. 695-706). Brunetière spoke of the considerable influence which Baudelaire had exercised over the previous twenty years and of the reputation which he continued to enjoy among the writers of 'la jeune littérature'.

He considered this a most disagreeable state of affairs for which the critics themselves were largely responsible. These, according to Brunetière, had assured Baudelaire's notoriety by promoting a sensational image of the poet as the supreme exponent of the poetry of corruption and evil, and creating for him 'une réputation unique de satanisme' (p. 697). This reputation was, in Brunetière's view, quite undeserved. He dismissed Baudelaire as 'un satan d'hôtel garni, un Belzébuth de table d'hôte' (p. 697), a poseur for whom flirtation with diabolism was merely one ploy in a campaign to mystify and shock, which the poet had waged in order to make a name for himself. As far as the critic was concerned, this purpose also explained the poet's cult of artifice and his rejection of mimetic art, his stubborn quest for originality, his indulgence in extravagant lies, his 'ridicules affectations de dandysme' (p. 696), and the blasphemy, obscenity and blend of eroticism and gore which abounded in his poetry. 'Pessimisme, sadisme et satanisme, tout cela, chez lui . . . n'est que des poses', concluded the critic, and added that 'il n'y a de sincère en lui que le désir et le besoin d'étonner' (p. 698). This was precisely the charge that was to be levelled consistently against Baudelaire in Spain by Juan Valera. The diatribe continued. The real Baudelaire, according to Brunetière, lacked natural poetic gifts:

> C'est qu'aussi bien le pauvre diable n'avait rien ou presque rien du poète, que la rage de le devenir. Non-seulement le style, mais l'harmonie, le mouvement, l'imagination lui manquent. Pas de vers plus pénibles, plus éssoufflés que les siens, pas de construction plus laborieuse, ou de période moins aisée, moins aérée, si je puis ainsi dire (p. 702).

The critic dismissed his poetry as a banal string of well-worn commonplaces, often shamelessly culled from other writers, and his use of sensations in poetry as a trivial and vulgar form of mysticism which cohabited easily with his cult of vice. In conclusion, Brunetière accused the poet of being mentally ill, which, he said, should not inspire admiration but pity.

The critical material which has been surveyed above leaves no doubt regarding the controversy which Baudelaire and his work aroused. This is clear from the issues which the critics raised, be it to attack or to defend, for such issues were bones of contention, ideally equipped to become the grounds for polemic. The critical treatment which they received reflected the critics' eagerness to provide an explanation for these issues, as if the critics felt that to suggest to the reader, a way of understanding them, might help him to cope with their controversial nature. Controversy, as Brunetière's belief that the critics created Baudelaire's reputation shows, tends to create a legend around a writer. It formulates a fictitious personality, somewhere between biographical reality and the persona which inhabits a poet's writings. This is because controversial aspects are not purely confined to life or to art. Indeed, they evade such classifications. There is another form of criticism, if that is the correct term to use, which responds precisely to this concocted identity, either enhancing it or attempting, in the name of setting the record straight, to redress the imbalances and repair the distortions it brings about with respect to objective biographical fact. This is the peculiarly hybrid form of biography which deals with a controversial writer's legend.

Examples of it which could have been known in Spain were Maxime du Camp's Souvenirs Littéraires (1882-83), which included a chapter on Baudelaire entitled 'Les revenants', and Charles Asselineau's 'Recueil d'anecdotes', which was compiled for inclusion in the augmented 1907 edition of Crépet's Charles Baudelaire. Both studies were based on the author's personal recollection of the poet, and it is interesting to note that although each had a different relationship with him, they were both struck by exactly the same characteristics of his personality: his desire to surprise through calculatedly unusual behaviour, and his inability to discipline himself to work regularly or to meet deadlines. The nature of such reflections reveals how studies of this kind are above all 'la biographie d'un talent et d'un esprit' (13), rather than of a fully-defined, factually documented psychological entity.

5. A critical inheritance

The potential contribution that the French critics could have made in terms of the enlightenment of truly curious and receptive minds in Spain was great, but in reality this was overshadowed by the practical significance of their criticism, as a source of labels to put on the poet and issues to discuss about him. It identified Baudelaire as the originator of a new tradition in poetry which drew its inspiration, not from the abstract universality of classical antiquity, but in the strangely deformed spirit of modern life. The poet was a self-proclaimed representative of a waning civilisation whose sensibility was at once exquisite and morbid. His life, like his well-wrought art, was the refined product of his ever-vigilant

spirit of analysis which never once yielded to the vulgar spontaneity of instinctive passion. His spirit, consumed by ennui, vented its despair and exasperation in diabolic blasphemies and the expression of abject pessimism, while the febrile depravity of his corrupted appetites conjured up visions of perverse eroticism or repulsive obscenity, or perceived an air of spirituality to permeate the most squalid realism. Such nightmares, however, were only one extreme of a psychological dualism at the other pole of which shone a mystical vision of harmony, vigour and plenitude, where sensuality became sensation and a stepping-stone to the spiritual infinite.

The issues which were formulated on the basis of this commonly-recognised range of characteristic features centred principally on the questions of their origin or what they might be symptomatic of, whether they were authentic expressions of the poet's sensibility, and if so, on what grounds they could be justified or criticised. Spanish critics were to inherit a concern with these very issues, and a preoccupation with the same aspects as those to which the French critics had directed their attention.

IV. SPANISH INITIATIVES

1. Allusions and quotations

During the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first five years of the twentieth, isolated quotations from and allusions to Baudelaire testified to the fact that a respectable range of his work was familiar to the critics of the time. It can also be deduced from these brief instances of critical comment that the public to which they were directed were also aware to a

greater or lesser degree of the poet and his writings, for some were phrased in such a way as to presuppose a certain knowledge of Baudelaire on the part of the intended reader. One such instance is to be found in one of Clarín's Paliques from 1890. The elliptical fashion of Baudelaire's identification indicates that the critic expected his audience to know who was meant by the 'author of the Petits poëmes en prose'. The comment also implicitly recognised Baudelaire's familiarity with Edgar Allan Poe's aesthetics:

> Yo no diré que en una novela debe existir aquella rigurosa dependencia de cada parte, desde el principio, a un efecto final, que pide el autor de Los poemas en prosa para las nouvelles a lo Poe (14).

Around the beginning of the twentieth century, Emilia Pardo Bazán embarked upon the publication of a long series of articles on the history of modern French literature in La España Moderna. In one such article from 1900, she quoted the following judgement which, according to her, Baudelaire had made regarding Victor Hugo's Notre Dame de Paris:

> Del capítulo Tempestad bajo un cráneo, en que Valjuan sostiene consigo mismo tremenda lucha antes de abrazarse a la cruz de la expiación, dice una pluma bien poco caritativa, la de Carlos Baudelaire 'Páginas tales son orgullo, no sólo de la literatura francesa, sino de la literatura de la humanidad pensante. Es honroso para el hombre racional que esas páginas se hayan escrito, y mucho habría que andar para encontrar con otras análogas, donde se expugna, de tan trágica manera, la espantosa casuística grabada desde el principio del mundo en el corazón del hombre universal' (15).

The quotation is in fact taken from Baudelaire's essay on Hugo's Les Misérables published in 1862 (OC, 493-96). Valjuan,

one must presume, is the protagonist Valjean. The reference to 'una pluma bien poca caritativa' may possibly have its explanation in Baudelaire's veiled criticism of the novel's didactic character: ' . . . dans les Misérables la morale entre directement à titre de but' (OC, 494). This was by way of direct contrast with the poetry of Les Contemplations and La Légende des siècles, for which Baudelaire expressed admiration in the same essay on the grounds that there was no moral intent and that the sense of justice with which the poems were infused never expressed itself as a dogmatic moral purpose. In Les Misérables, however, this sense of justice ' . . . s'est trahie, de bonne heure, . . . par le goût de la réhabilitation' (OC, 494). It is also possible that the Catholic Doña Emilia, who, as we shall see, considered Baudelaire to be a libertine who irresponsibly abused new-found artistic freedoms, found Baudelaire's words of praise for a few lines set in a context promoting highminded Christian sentiments somewhat unexpected.

The fact that Baudelaire was an art critic as well as a littérateur was identified by Francisco Acebal once in each of two articles he wrote for La Lectura on the subject of the 1901 Fine Art exhibition in Madrid. On the first occasion, he borrowed a term from Baudelaire's 'L'oeuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix' (OC, 530), while speaking of the decadence of Spanish historical painting:

> Prueba esto el desconcierto de los artistas, la falta de rumbo, la vacilación; porque ¿quién había de decirnos que aquel rebuscar por los rincones de la Historia un drama, una epopeya, un idilio, un gran festival para estamparlo en inconmesurable telón, forjando lo que Baudelaire llamó graciosamente grandes máquinas, que toda la pompa y la ostentación

> de nuestra historia hubiera de trocarse en el breve espacio de cuatro o seis años en las escenas más vulgares, más ruines y menos interesantes? (16).

In the second article, Acebal contrasted his own opinion of the art of sculpture with that expressed by Baudelaire, presumably in the section of the Salon de 1846 entitled 'Pourquoi la sculpture est ennuyeuse' (OC, 257-58):

> Lejos de pensar con Baudelaire que la Escultura es un arte condenado a perpetua inferioridad con relación a la Pintura, reconocemos con Winckelman todas las excelencias de este arte, cuyo dominio de las dimensiones arroja en su favor la fuerza de verdad y de naturalidad que ningún otro arte posee (17).

In 1903 poems from Les Fleurs du Mal featured twice in the literary review Helios. The first occasion, in the seventh number, involved an allusion to Baudelaire's cat poems made by Pedro González Blanco in the course of some informal philosophising. The following lines are the remarks provoked by the entry of a cat into the room where the author was sitting smoking:

> Ya que por una feliz casualidad, me dije, este mísero felino tiene el don de la palabra, tratemos de que hable. ¿Cómo dar comienzo a la conversación? . . . Aqueste aristócrata, cantado por Baudelaire en estrofas inmortales, es de índole harto susceptible . . . Habrá que interrogarle con cuidado . . . con cuidado y prudencia . . . ¡Alea jacta est! ¡Comencemos! (18).

The second comprised a two-line quotation from 'Le Guignon' and was to be found in the 'Glosario del mes' of the ninth issue. It featured as the culmination of an anonymous piece of discourse inspired by the sombre reflection that the modern mind had grown too complex and burdened with neurosis to find

solace in Arcadian surroundings. Neither the title of the poem nor the name of its author were recorded in this case, so the quotation remained as anonymous as the writer of the ode to malaise in which it was included, to be recognised only by those who were familiar with Les Fleurs du Mal. The occasion nevertheless constitutes testimony of a resurgence in the heart of modernista consciousness of the spiritual disquiet characteristic of Spanish Romanticism, whence the pertinence - through an affinity of general sensibility - of Baudelaire:

> Mas, acaso, que el campo, como todos los otros y excelsos sitios donde el hombre puede respirar aquello que Spinosa llamaba 'el éter de la sustancia única', satisface menguadamente ya nuestras almas de sentimentales entristecidos por el siglo, roídos de vanidad, ansiosos de ahogar el tedio en nuestra ensombrecida existencia, con las ideas escarranchadas por el viento desolador de la civilización. Y he aquí que aquel viejo verso del poeta latino ha perdido todo su melancólico encanto, porque es lo cierto que huímos del frío, y a todas partes llevamos el frío de nuestra vida; que huímos de la vida, y la vida nos sigue. ¡Tristezas de cosas errantes, sueños del ideal
>
> Mon coeur comme un tambour voilé
> va battant des marches funèbres!
>
> (19).

It is quite feasible that the nameless author was knowledgeable of the French poet's work, for the whole passage is markedly Baudelairian in flavour. The image of drowning ennui recalls the lines spoken of remorse in 'L'Irréparable', 'Dans quel philtre, dans quel vin, dans quelle tisane, / Noierons-nous ce vieil ennemi' (OC, 73), while that of vain flight from inescapable torment recalls the tortured mind of 'Alchimie de la douleur' (OC, 90).

In the same year, a quotation from Fuseés found its way into Angel Guerra's Literatos extranjeras (Valencia 1903) disguised in paraphrase:

> Baudelaire, al menos, encontraba cierto placer intelectual en adorar el mal, y creía que el hombre y la mujer, desde que nacen, saben que en el mal está toda la voluptuosidad (p. 130).

The lines transcribed, beginning with 'el hombre . . . ', were an exact translation of part of the third entry of Fusées (OC, 624) and lacked only the appropriate separation from the surrounding context to identify them as being Baudelaire's words. Fortunately, Baudelaire's authorship was implicitly acknowledged by the connection of his name with the idea expressed.

Another quotation, this time a stanza from 'Le Flacon' (OC, 70), appeared in Helios in 1904. It was chosen by Bernardo González de Candamo to head a piece of creative narrative in which the author described the transport of his consciousness enveloped by the poignant recollections of involuntary memory. The content of the four lines quoted can be seen to have corresponded well with that of the lines which followed:

> Voilà le souvenir enivrant qui voltige
> Dans l'air troublé: les yeux se ferment; le vertige
> Saisit l'âme vaincue et la pousse à deux mains
> Vers un gouffre obscurci de miasmes humains.
>
> CHARLES BAUDELAIRE.
>
> Cuando llegué a mi habitación, a la triste soledad de mi habitación, sentí dolor de aquellos 'momentos de infinito' gozados en la elevada cima.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Recorrí mi habitación con la mirada. Y en ese rápido ojeo experimenté una sensación extraña: cada objeto era algo que daba a mi espíritu una impresión musical. - Así como la música nos hace revivir lejanos instantes, y nos vuelve a los más remotos estados del alma - se diría que una mano invisible hubiese impreso en los acordados sonidos una huella material, sugestiva y evoca-

> dora - así todos los objetos diseminados por mi habitación, me traían mágicos efluvios de lejanos dolores, de efímeras alegrías: retratos autógrafos de camaradas, al lado de las indecisas letras femeninas: libros de versos, que conservan entre sus hojas - señalando los preferidos poemas un día leídos en el tono apagado de las confidencias - marchitas flores, en cuyos pétalos descoloridos hay una ilusión; el brillo trágico del revólver arrebatado de las crispadas manos de mi amigo muerto, todo me traía un aliento de otra vida y me volvía a los negros días dolorosos, o a los plácidos y serenos días (20).

Reminiscences of other lines from 'Le Flacon' apart from those quoted are also to be found in the passage. The author's solitary room conveys the same atmosphere as the 'maison déserte' (1.5) of the poem. The vibrant memories which the objects in the room seem to exude have a parallel in the lines 'Mille pensers dormaient, chrysalides funèbres, / Frémissant doucement dans les lourdes ténèbres, / Qui dégagent leur aile et prennent leur essor' (1.9-11), while the disturbing ressurection of a past which was seemingly lost forever described in the last lines of the above quotation is recalled in the fifth stanza of the poem, in which the experience of reliving a dimension of time irretrievable by any other means, creates the impression of it having been disinterred rather than recaptured.

Baudelaire's interest in Poe was once more recognised, but this time unequivocally, in the notes Viriato Díaz-Pérez wrote to accompany his translation of 'The Raven', which were published in Helios in 1904. On this occasion, the Frenchman was identified as the translator, biographer, and critical investigator of Poe:

> La crítica ha estudiado a Poe parcamente, pero le ha estudiado bien. Mallarmé le consagró sus versos y Baudelaire su prosa. Este, además,

> analizó su espíritu en un estudio admirable de esos que se hacen sobre los artistas que nos han dominado, que nos enseñaron su dolor.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Cuenta Baudelaire que, la misma mañana en que salía a la luz El Cuervo, cuando el nombre del poeta circulaba de boca en boca, Poe cruzaba tambaleándose las calles de Broadway . . .
> La crítica recuerda esto (21).

Even these minimal critical comments have something to tell about the attitudes of their authors towards the poet. The two examples from Helios involving actual quotations in particular display an undisguised sense of identification with aspects of Baudelairian sensibility. The correspondence between the content of the quotations selected and that of the passages with which they were associated, contrasts with, for example, the dispassionate attitude of Emilia Pardo Bazán, who seemed indifferent to anything but the facts of Baudelaire's opinion regarding Les Misérables or the perspective which this could contribute to the issue under discussion. In other words, the involvement of the poet in the latter case was purely a matter of objective, literary relevance. Of course, the difference of the role of the quotations in each situation is to be explained in part by the influence of the stylistic format characteristic of the contexts in which the quotations were found. This format may generate the need for a quotation to be developed or exploited in a certain way. For instance, in predominantly subjective, emotive style which is not constrained by the need to respect formal stylistic conventions, as is the case of the Helios examples, quotations are more likely to become extensions of what the author is attempting to express, being chosen not merely because they are factually relevant to those being developed but because their selector identifies with

the sentiments they embody and because they in turn help him to say what he wishes to say. The quotation chosen by Emilia Pardo Bazán, on the other hand, was clearly not there to offer this kind of support. It was simply a means of expanding momentarily the critical perspective of her formal, literary-historical survey. A more plausible explanation of the role of the quotations in the Helios examples, however, (though not of Emilia Pardo Bazán's exploitation of Baudelaire's critical assessment, which seems to have been determined entirely by the stylistic format of the context in which it appeared), is forthcoming if we resort to the extrinsic criterion of literary-historical fact. Helios was the mouthpiece of modernismo, whose exponents showed a decided predilection for modern French literature. It is likely that this was the reason for quotations from Baudelaire being selected when the opportunity presented itself. The authors' identification with the lines they chose testifies to a sense of affinity with the poet's sensibility, and the fact that they chose the examples they desired from his works bears witness to his acceptance within modernista circles.

2. 'De vin, de poésie ou de vertu'

Before concluding this survey of quotations from and allusions to Baudelaire's works, it is of interest to trace as an issue in its own right the history of 'Enivrez-vous', the most quoted prose poem from Le Spleen de Paris. The motives behind its selection on the four occasions which are to be examined are different in each case, yet as before they are indicative of changing attitudes to the poet in Spain. The prose poem was first quoted by Mariano de Cavia in 1889, as he

pondered with wry scepticism the merits of various attitudes to life, which might have allowed a certain degree of spiritual serenity in the face of the desconsolatory realities of the times:

> Baudelaire, el predilecto de las Musas Modernas, acertó a juntar la quinta esencia de las dulzuras antiguas con el jugo más refinado de las amarguras de nuestros tiempos, dio esta receta a los que padecen hambre y sed de consuelo y de paz:
>
> - ¡ Embriagaos!
>
> No dio, ciertamente, con más seguridad el mismo Guizot a sus contemporáneos aquel otro consejo imperativo, cifra y compendio de las aspiraciones de una época:
>
> - ¡ Enriqueceos!
>
> Pero ni el ministro de Luis Felipe enseñaba cómo hay que enriquecerse, ni el poeta de Las Flores del Mal decía con qué hay que embriagarse.
> Limitábase éste a escribir:
>
> - Con vino, con poesía o con virtud.
>
> ¿Y los que no están organizados para el ejercicio de la virtud, o no han recibido el excelso don de la poesía, o simplemente no gustan del vino?
> No tienen más que hacerse proyectistas.

In the last line of this quotation it was implied that the author was also familiar with the prose poem 'Les projets'. This assumption is confirmed later in the same article:

> El propio Baudelaire (vuelvo a él como sugestionado) dice en uno de sus Poemas en prosa que para nada sirve realizar proyectos, puesto que el proyecto es por sí y en sí mismo un goce suficiente (22).

The way in which the quotation was used on this occasion makes it impossible to infer anything about de Cavia's attitude to Baudelaire, although this is compensated by the contribution the author made to the diffusion of the poet in Spain at the time. Apart from naming two of Baudelaire's works and

summarising the essence of the meaning of two particular prose poems, de Cavia clearly identified the prominent position which Baudelaire occupied in artistic developments of the time. He was described as the favourite poet of the modern-day Muses, the leader of a new tendency in art in which the traditional sources of inspiration had been blended with or even eclipsed by those emanating from modern life.

It is somewhat ironical that de Cavia, whose attitude to Baudelaire remained hidden, should have taken so much care in the transposition and interpretation of the prose poem, when its subsequent commentators, whose sympathy towards Baudelaire was explicit, took inexplicable liberties when they transcribed it. When Enrique Gómez Carrillo quoted the first lines of the poem in an essay from 1893 entitled 'El Neomisticismo', on the subject of the mystic tendency of French literature of the time, he added 'hate' and 'desire' to the list of spiritual intoxicants originally prescribed by Baudelaire:

> Uno de los sacerdotes de la nueva religión ha dicho en un poema delicioso
>
> 'Es necesario estar siempre borracho. Toda la fortuna depende de la borrachera. Para no sentir el horrible fardo del tiempo, que rompe nuestras espaldas e inclina los cuerpos hacia la tierra, es necesario emborracharse sin tregua. . . . Es necesario emborracharse de vino, de poesía, de virtud, de odio o de deseo . . . pero es necesario emborracharse' (23).

The reasons for this modification remained unexplained, although some consolation in the face of this unsolved mystery can be drawn from the fact that the context in which the quotation appeared provides a valuable insight into how the prose poem was understood, and what value it held for new generations of

writers at the time. The meaning attributed to the poem on this occasion was clearly that which Baudelaire had intended. The inebriation to which the poem alluded was a state of heightened consciousness which enabled those who experienced it to transcend the insufferable aridity of circumstantial reality. The relevance of this to a neo-mystic tendency in art, a combination of religion and aestheticism in which the ecstasy of pure sentiment replaced religious belief, is immediately apparent. The poem echoed the neo-mystic writers' own aspirations.

Gómez Carrillo quoted from the prose poem a second time while noting common themes in contemporary poets and Chinese poets of the seventh century. The translation was the same as that given above, although on this occasion he did not quote further than 'sin tregua'. He compared the sentiments it expressed with those found in these lines by the Chinese poet Li-tai-pe: 'No deseemos más que una larga borrachera - tan larga que no se acabe nunca; la ventura está en el vino' (24).

The final quotation from 'Enivrez-vous' to be examined at this point appeared in Helios in 1903. The context was a passage from Alejandro Sawa's autobiographical Dietario de un alma, which was serialised in the review. The author, leading the life of a bohemian artist and reduced to a state of penury, found himself faced with the sad necessity of parting with his beloved clock:

> Nos separamos pues. El [su reloj] dejará de latir algún tiempo, yo habré, aunque me rechinen los dientes, de continuar oyendo, a falta de otro, el tic-tac siniestro de la péndula de Baudelaire: 'es la hora de embriagarse; embriagaos; a cualquiera hora, en cualquiera sazón [sic], no importa en qué sitio, ni en qué momento; para resistir el peso de la vida,

> embriagaos, embriagaos sin tregua: de vino, de amor, o de virtud, pero cuidad de permanecer siempre ebrios' (25).

The presence of a quotation from Baudelaire in this passage can be accounted for in terms of the narrative offering the writer a pretext to testify to his ability to relate to a certain notion formulated by the poet, and to the fact that the spirit of the poem awakened a response in some part of his own psychology. At first sight, therefore, it seems all the more paradoxical that Sawa should have radically misquoted the original. The phrase 'De vin, de poésie ou de vertu' became in Sawa's transposition 'de vino, de amor, o de virtud'. The distortion goes further still. What Sawa wrote down was not really a quotation in the strict sense at all, but a loose paraphrase. The order in which the content was arranged was different from the original, and Baudelaire's phraseology was blended with what were more or less the same ideas, but re-cast in Sawa's own words. Furthermore, the phrase 'el tic-tac siniestro de la péndula de Baudelaire' is much more closely reminiscent of the 'dieu sinistre, effrayant, impassible' of 'L'Horloge' (OC, 94) than of the simple clock of 'Enivrez-vous'.

For lack of evidence, one can only offer conjecture as to why such amendment and alterations occured in Gómez Carrillo's and Sawa's versions of the prose poem. The most innocent explanation is that they were accidental, or due to failure or inability to consult the source, which is more probable in Sawa's case, given the extent to which it departed from the original. If, on the other hand, the modifications - in particular those made to the list of intoxicants recommended - were intentional, then they offer an instructive illustration of how that which is

originally understood through a sense of affinity is, once it has been assimilated and incorporated into the writer's stock of key referentials of thought or sensibility, prone to be adapted or, more accurately, reinterpreted to reflect more precisely the awareness which caused the author to identify with it in the first place. When a theme, image, motif or idea becomes common currency, its original integrity is more susceptible to devaluation. Since understanding a text in precisely the same way as its author is not a prerequisite for identification with it, the process of modification described above may take place as the result of a misreading, as much as through a desire to extend the meaning of the original. Relating to a text may be the result of grasping the meaning given to it by its author, but may also involve identifying not with the original meaning, but with quite a different interpretation read into the text on the basis of some minimal, apparent sense of affinity. One would do well to bear this in mind with reference to Sawa's quotation, which does not yield any precise indication as to how he interpreted the prose poem, even though his sense of identification with what he personally saw in it is quite obvious.

V. SCHOOLS AND MOVEMENTS

Attempts which appeared in the Spanish press to affiliate Baudelaire to a particular movement or school in literature reflected a wide diversity of opinion. Spanish critics' ignorance of French literary historical divisions is not an altogether satisfactory explanation. For one thing, a number of the categorisations appearing in the Spanish press were made by French critics whose work was being reviewed. Even if one acknowledges that there was

little agreement among the Spaniards themselves, the paradoxical fact still remains that all of the classifications they made are ultimately justifiable. This situation makes more sense if one ceases to look for faults in the critics and considers the difficulties which naturally arise when one attempts to locate the poet within the confines of any particular movement. Baudelaire's originality and the diversity of his inspiration at once preclude his affiliation to any one school in an absolute or exclusive sense. He showed the characteristics of several, but belonged wholly to none. Furthermore, he did not create a new school around himself or participate in founding one contemporary to him, but rather initiated a number of tendencies. The only option remaining in such circumstances is to define the poet in terms of where he came from and what he reacted against, or what new ways forward he indicated. Ultimately, where one places him depends on the width of the focus one adopts or against whom the poet is compared. This, it appears, was where the Spanish critics, as foreigners trying to adjust to alien literary historical categories were at a disadvantage. Over-dependent upon pre-existing French classifications of the poet, or guided only by broad classifications of literary movements to which they adhered over-zealously, many insisted to a disproportionate degree upon the poet's association with one particular school, emphasizing only the qualities or aspects of his art which justified an association of this kind. The result was that their attempts to classify the poet were occasionally too exclusive.

In an essay on Théophile Gautier in La Ilustración Ibérica in the year 1898, H. Santiago Argüello saw Baudelaire as involved in the reaction against Classicism:

> Théophile Gautier, lo mismo que Banville, de Lisle, y Baudelaire, es un descendiente de los genios poéticos de 1830. Es uno de aquellos jóvenes que daban puñetazos de gigante en el rostro acartonado y viejo de la fórmula clásica (26).

Such a judgement would, by implication, have affiliated Baudelaire to the Romantic cause, without actually confining him to the first generation. To the informed eye, the poets in whose company he appeared may have suggested associations with the Parnassians. The idea that Baudelaire was a Romantic poet was dispelled by Emilia Pardo Bazán in 1902, when she described him as forming part of the movement away from Romantic subjectivism towards the impersonal craftsmanship of Parnassianism:

> Sobre las magníficas ruinas del lirismo romántico habían surgido los impersonales, los lapidarios y forjadores, los científicos y los parnasianos: Gautier, Vigny, Baudelaire, Leconte de Lisle, Sully Prudhomme, Heredia, Coppée . . . (27).

Pedro González Blanco substantially echoed this judgement in 1903 in an article entitled 'Alberto Samain' (Helios, 8, 1903) when he declared that 'Verlaine . . . demostrara la insuficiencia de las teorías parnasianas, procediendo exactamente como Baudelaire con el Romanticismo' (p. 65), and went on to identify both Baudelaire and Verlaine as having inherited a particular characteristic of the Parnassian. The following lines refer to the poet's influence on Albert Samain:

> Pero donde su influencia se deja sentir especialmente, es en la manera de elegir asuntos y vocablos, en una afición, heredada del parnaso, a evocar antiguas civilizaciones, evocación en la que Dierx, Heredia y Leconte de Lisle apenas pusieron nada personal (pp. 64-65).

González Blanco's classification of Baudelaire was, however,

more precise and based on finer distinctions than that proposed by Pardo Bazán. The poet was not merely included within a generalisation which referred to the Parnassians indiscriminately, but was identified as the exponent of one typical feature of the school. This leads one to believe that González Blanco had a more informed understanding of Baudelaire. This view is supported by the fact that the critic also drew attention to the more original, novel aspect of Baudelaire, the one which was of greater import to contemporary attitudes. This was to be seen in his description of the poet as 'el diabólico decadente de las flores del mal' (p. 65). Baudelaire was defined in similar terms one year later by a critic using the pseudonym Clavigero, who considered him to be a leading figure in the Parnassian movement and the initiator of the decadence: 'Entre los cuatro Dioses mayores del Parnaso (Gauthier [sic] , Banville, Leconte de L'Isle [sic]) está Baudelaire, que es lo que pudiéramos llamar familiarmente el papá de los decadentes' (28). The French critics whose views on the matter were represented in the review pages of the journals, for the most part saw Baudelaire in relation to Symbolism. Georges Pelissier spoke of how the poet had prefigured the movement, although was not one of its true precursors:

> Alfredo de Vigny, por su afición al misterio,
> y Baudelaire, por su 'don de correspondencia'
> podrían pasar por precursores del simbolismo;
> pero los verdaderos precursores de esta escuela
> son Mallarmé y Verlaine (29).

The same review described the aim of Symbolism as the expression of 'el alma de las cosas', which corresponded to the transcendental dimension of Baudelaire's art identified by the French critics

studied above. Symbolism was also the topic of discussion in a review of an article by Gustave Kahn which followed. Its exponents, it was said, reacting against Parnassianism, 'habían leído mucho a Baudelaire' (30). The contradictory nature of Spanish attempts to classify Baudelaire in this way is perhaps most marked over the question of whether the poet should be labelled a Parnassian or a Symbolist, not least because the definition of the two movements given in the contexts in which the comments on Baudelaire were to be found, depicted them as opposing or mutually exclusive aesthetic tendencies. Symbolism was either described as a reaction against Parnassianism, or presented as a mode of hyper-lyrical mysticism, contrasting with the impassive craftsmanship of the latter. To affiliate Baudelaire to both would lead, in view of this, to two mutually antagonistic images of the poet. Spanish critics who linked Baudelaire's name with Symbolism were influenced by French sources of information. Fernando Santander y Gómez's encyclopedic Historia del progreso científico, artístico y literario en el siglo XIX (Barcelona [1895]) which described Baudelaire as the first representative of the movement, combining the doctrine of correspondances with the cult of artificiality, drew upon Gautier and Brunetière. Gonzalo Guasp's definition of modernismo published in Gente Vieja on 30 June 1902, explained the movement in terms of previously formulated French models:

> Fueron sus precursores [del simbolismo] Paul Verlaine, denominado por el virulento Dumic en su 'Manual de literatura' maníaco obsceno; el macabro Baudelaire, autor de las 'Flores del mal', y Mallarmé, traductor de Poe (p. 3).

It was also a Frenchman who was responsible for one of the rare

instances in which the tendency to affiliate Baudelaire to a particular movement was resisted. An article on the Parnassians by Emmanuel des Essarts reviewed in La España Moderna in September 1902, stated that prior to the emergence of this school around 1866, there was no unified aesthetic cause but 'buenos poetas, desgraciadamente separados, sin enlace entre sí' (p. 193). Three poets stood out above the rest as 'poetas soberanos': Leconte de Lisle, Banville and Baudelaire.

VI. HALLMARKS

The more informative of the attempts to affiliate Baudelaire to a particular literary school or movement surveyed above are those in which the critic sought to justify his classification by identifying the quality or trait by virtue of which the poet qualified for inclusion. These instances provide a bridge by which to pass into another dimension of diffusion, in which critical comment centred around a number of significant features which were considered most typical of the poet. The choice the principal traits enumerated had been prefigured by the French critics of Baudelaire, whose work was examined earlier in the present chapter. The actual influence of French sources on the Spaniards who contributed to the dissemination of an image of Baudelaire on this level can be discerned on a number of occasions. Furthermore, the review pages of journals made a notable contribution in proffering critical comments of this kind, and naturally in many cases the agents of diffusion were non-Spaniards. One point remains to be made before proceeding to examine this aspect of Baudelaire's diffusion in Spain, namely, that only a representative sample of the range of critical opinion

regarding the most characteristic aspects of Baudelaire's works will be surveyed below. This will allow other potentially relevant pieces of evidence, which are nevertheless capable of making a more meaningful contribution in some other area of the present study to be inserted where they will be able to be exploited to their best advantage.

1. An aristocrat of art

Two broad categories of issue engaged the interest of critics whose understanding of Baudelaire was represented in Spain. On the one hand, there were the aspects of what one might define as the poet's moral personality or sensibility, and on the other, there were his aesthetic attitudes. Those who chose to accord predominance to the latter made great play of the poet's elitism and the studied perfection of his compositions. In an essay on Léon Cladel, published in La Ilustración Ibérica on 28 July 1894, Rodrigo Soriano quoted one of the Frenchman's statements of his aesthetic preferences, which by implication defined Baudelaire as an elitist, anti-democratic artist who accorded great importance to a refined style:

> -¡Zola es un gran herrero! - exclamaba, - Trabaja a puñetazos, escribe con martillo, aliméntase de epopeya. Además, escribe para el público, arroja carne a la muchedumbre. ¡Oh! ¡Al lado de Baudelaire y de Villiers de L'Isle Adam, mis dos dioses, nada vale! ¡Yo escribo para mí y no para los demás!
> (pp. 474-75).

Six years later, in a review of the republished edition of Henri Murger's Scènes de la vie de bohème, the reviewer Araujo contrasted the unkempt, dissolute image of the bohemian artist with 'la altiva elegancia de Baudelaire' (31). Implicit in the context was the poet's scorn for the Bourgeoisie, which had

observed with great satisfaction the havoc which the bohemian image of the artist had played with the anti-bourgeois cult of the superiority of the artist. Readers of an article by Emilia Pardo Bazán, which also appeared in 1900, could have been led to assume by extension, the presence in Baudelaire of similar qualities to those identified in the two preceding examples, when she mentioned Alfred de Vigny's influence on the poet and described the former as an 'artista superior, poeta de corto resuello, sútil y alambicado' (32). Other critics distinguished between the two types of observation made here, suppressing reference to the attitude of the poet to concentrate on the style of the philosophy of composition to which it gave rise. In the introduction to a selection of Edgar Allan Poe's tales published in La Ilustración Ibérica on 11 July 1885, their translator, Adolfo Llanos, offered the American's influence on Baudelaire as an explanation for the parity in their attitudes to the creative act and the nature of the work of art:

> Mucho son los imitadores del gran poeta americano, aunque ninguno ha logrado igualarle; cada uno de los cuentos de Poe ha servido de norma a las mejores producciones de varios escritores franceses, entre los cuales debe citarse especialmente a Julio Verne, Teófilo Gautier, Emilio Gaboriau, Aquiles Eyrand, Enrique de Parville y Carlos Baudelaire (p. 442).

A more explicit statement to the same effect which appeared in a text book for literary studies written by Enrique Buxeras y Mercadel and published in 1894 emphasised the role which Baudelaire accorded to the will in transforming inspiration into artistic beauty:

> En cambio, para los modernos, Zola entre ellos, la inspiración no es más que el resultado del estudio y el trabajo, así Baudelaire, padre del decadentismo, la define una larga e incesante gimnasia (33).

Several observations need to be made with respect to the facts expressed and the implications inherent in this quotation. The first is the positive contribution it made to establishing the connection between the manifestation of the cult of artificiality on the level of technique of composition and the theory of decadence. Their common origin in Baudelaire's self-view, it will be recalled, was identified by Gautier and others. The other points deserving mention, on the other hand, tend to involve not how the information imparted enlightened, but rather how it may have misled. In the first place, the context dealt with a number of writers thrown together indiscriminately under the heading of 'los modernos'. Authors as diametrically opposed in key aspects of their aesthetic beliefs as Baudelaire and Zola appeared side by side, giving the impression that their reasons for mistrusting inspiration were the same. Moreover, the turn of phrase employed by Buxeras y Mercadel suggested that for Baudelaire inspiration as a visionary experience did not exist, or that it had been supplanted by sheer voluntaristic effort. This, of course, was a misconception, Baudelaire's actual belief being that inspiration existed, but that the intervention of the will was necessary to turn it into artistic beauty.

2. A literary mystic

Of the critics who turned to aspects of Baudelaire's sensibility when seeking to characterise the poet, a number selected the mystic dimension of his consciousness as his primary distinguishing feature. Gonzalo Guasp connected Baudelaire's name with the neo-mystic tendency of *fin de siglo* art in the article on *modernismo* cited above when he defined Symbolism,

of which he considered the poet as a precursor, as an 'amalgama confusa de misticismo y sensualismo' (p. 3). This definition acknowledged the blend of spirituality and sensuality which Barbey had spoken of in respect of Baudelaire's cult of sensation. It saw this mixing, however, as a real ('confusa') contradiction, whereas Barbey treated it as an apparent one. One of the earliest Hispanic critics to draw attention to the mystic dimension of Baudelaire's art was Enrique Gómez Carrillo, who had called the poet a 'místico soñador y atormentado' (34), and even had gone as far as to identify him as one of the first exponents of literary mysticism. He described the poet's disciples among the younger generation of French poets as idealists, reacting against Naturalism and the scientific spirit. They were, he said, seeking to experience a spiritual infinity through sensuality and tasted of vice and sin so that their faith might glow all the more intensely in repentance. The Guatemalan chronicler also noted that their elitist cult of the self caused their sensibilities to become refined to the point of exquisiteness (35). This new tendency did not find favour with Clarín, who, while applauding the rebirth of idealism as a timely counterfoil to the spiritual stultification that had come with the rise of scientific positivism, saw its basis as too literary, too dependent upon aesthetic sensations as a substitute for real convictions and faith, and lacking the philosophical dimension that characterises an authentic religious doctrine (36). Baudelaire was mentioned in another interpretation, ultimately equally unfavourable but for different reasons, which was reported in a review of an article on contemporary Portuguese literature which was published in La Lectura in 1901. In it, the author identified the motivation

underlying literary neo-mysticism as 'la fraternidad de los pueblos', but went on to distinguish between two quite different forms which the tendency adopted:

> Aceptando esta laudable tendencia por su finalidad, hay que distinguir en ella las diferentes fases y grados en que se manifiesta, porque tanto puede ser indicio de degeneración como prueba de la más alta idealidad, del espiritualismo más puro.
> Así Ibsen, Tolstoi, Nietzsche, Baudelaire, Verlain, Swinburnt, Walt, Wilham, Macterlinck [sic] , Wagner y otros, místicos todos en el fondo, cada cual tiene un modo particular de manifestar su misticismo.
> La corriente neo-mística latina nada tiene que ver con esos simbolistas parnasianos que buscan el misticismo únicamente para envolverse en lo incomprensible o para consolarse de los conatos de su alma enferma (37).

It remains unclear from the context whether Baudelaire was included in the latter category or not, although the reference to the Symbolists and the Parnassians may quite possibly have led readers to assume this to have been the case.

3. Spiritual disquiet

Of all the facets which critical opinion purported to be representative of the poet, that which achieved the most widespread consensus was his pessimism. For the vast majority of Spaniards, Baudelaire's name was to become synonymous with spiritual disquiet and rebellion against the conventional sources of existential consolation. French critical reaction to the poet had already well prepared the ground for this image to predominate over all others. In Spain itself both the orthodox Catholics and conservatives of the literary establishment, who had taken up arms against the spirit of criticismo in literature, and the modernistas, who found themselves assailed by problems of a spiritual order similar to those which had confronted and

tortured Baudelaire, were naturally inclined to find such a focus most pertinent. As a result, to speak of the poet as the 'poeta del dolor' ceased to be the prerogative of those critics with a definite ideological interest in the issue and became a generally accepted denomination. Fray Candil contributed unequivocally to the diffusion of this image when he declared in 1888 that 'Para mí, tanto razón tiene Baudelaire cuando maldice de la vida como Valera . . . cuando afirma que el mundo es más hermoso cada día (38). Some five years later J. Ruiz Castillo described the poet in the same terms, when he said of an Albanian poet by the name of Jerónimo de Rada that 'Por el dolor es hermano de Leopardi, Musset, Baudelaire, Lenau, Heine y Espronceda' (39). The common denominator uniting these poets is that for each of them the systematic expression of grief and pessimism was a major theme of their work. The fact that this comment came from the pen of a contributor to Helios tends to suggest that the equivalence of Baudelaire with malaise was a generally accepted fact within the circle of the modernistas. A similar example to this had appeared in the first of three articles by Pompeyo Gener on the poet Joaquín María Bartrina published in 1883. The article contained a somewhat contradictory declaration to the effect that 'Bartrina es un poeta del género de Baudelaire y de Leopardi, pero formando especie aparte' (40). Although the author did not take the trouble to inform his readers just what kind of poets he considered the Frenchman and the Italian to be, it can be safely assumed that pessimism was the common ground alluded to in this instance. Proof of this is the general acceptance in Spain that Baudelaire and Leopardi used their verses as a vehicle to express their suffering, and the spirit of despondency which

pervades Bartrina's collection of poems entitled Algo (1874). Once again, the ambiguity surrounding the nature of the relationship between the three poets could have been a source of misunderstanding. It would have been unwise to assume their similarity to be any more than broadly generic, simply as poets whose work expressed a pessimistic view of existence and the human condition. The constancy of Bartrina's rhetorical scepticism, 'attitudinising', as D. L. Shaw has described it (41), is questionable. This makes it quite a different phenomenon, not only in terms of its expression, but also as an actual attitude from Baudelaire's all-pervading, implacable constitutional malaise.

4. 'C'est le diable qui tient les fils nous remuent'

Within the context of this image of Baudelaire, Spanish critics were attentive above all to one particular form in which it chose to manifest itself: satanism. The degree of controversy which this facet of Baudelaire's pessimism aroused turned it into a stock image for the poet. In 1889 the reviewer of Clarín's Mezclilla quoted from Lemaître who had depicted the poet 'con un ramo de flores infernales en la mano' (42). Ten years later, Pío Baroja was to define Nietzsche as 'más decadente que todos; un dandi [sic] fatuo como Barbey injerto en un satánico como Baudelaire' (OC, VIII, 854). The association established on this occasion between diabolism and decadence prefigured the more explicit association of the two characteristics to be seen in Pedro González Blanco's 1903 description of Baudelaire as 'el diabólico decadente de les fleurs du mal'. The combination suggests that the two features had become somehow interlinked in Spanish minds. It is not an exaggeration to say that the question

of Baudelaire's satanism attained the proportions of a fixation in the minds of Spanish critics of all affiliations. The examples quoted above typify how readily application of the label of 'satanist' became automatic, and developed, because it was taken for granted, into a tyranically exclusive categorisation of the poet. The denomination came to persist quite independently of the initial motives for its use: the controversy which the satanic element of Baudelaire's work aroused, and the importance which French critics had attributed to it. It became institutionalised not only as a way of seeing the poet, but as a critical issue as well. This is to be seen by the way in which, where discussion of the aspect developed beyond mere passing comment, it was customary to assume that any serious discussion of Baudelaire should centre around his satanism. An example of this is the analysis of Baudelaire's concept of evil carried out by Angel Guerra in an essay on Barbey D'Aurevilly included in Literatos extranjeros (1903):

> Baudelaire en Flores de mal canta le diable, reconoce su poder sobre la tierra; pero con un sentido cerradamente panteísta. El mal es una fuerza natural, latente en la existencia de los hombres; no es un tropo retórico ni un vago concepto metafísico. Baudelaire es un creyente sincero, a pesar de la pose que reviste en algunos instantes, creyente en el mal, a quien parece que presta ideal adoración. Sin embargo, no cree en su existencia ultraterrestre, ni le reconoce otro campo de acción que las almas humanas mientras dura su actividad sobre la tierra. Su diablo, el que canta, no es un espíritu ignoto; es una proyección, un relieve del propio hombre. Las penas inmateriales con que atormenta el diablo del dogma cristiano no son las crueldades del diablo de esta poesía satánica moderna, tormento del espíritu, siempre inquietado de dolores y dudas, flagelación de la carne, padeciendo de continuo arañazos de martirio. Por eso en Baudelaire, con fe negativa, ateo a ratos, es intensa la nota sádica, según advierte Bourget, en el fondo de su alma, como en

> la entraña de su poesía, al decir de Spronck,
> gotea lágrimas cálidas un silencioso hastío,
> desesperación pasiva y resignada (pp. 212-13).

Guerra's conception and treatment of the theme was directly descended from French models, and at the same time typified the approach which Spanish critics adopted when tackling the issue. At the centre of his discussion lay an attempt to determine the nature of the poet's satanism, with the preoccupation as to whether it was a sincere expression of his beliefs always present, and casting its influential shadow across the proceedings in the form of two secondary considerations: did Baudelaire actually believe in and worship evil?, and was he a satanist in life or just in his art? Guerra's opinion was that the poet's belief and adoration were, apart from a few instances of exaggeration, genuine, although he understood the devil not as a supernatural entity outside man, but as a living active force of evil within him.

5. Conclusion

As the moment draws near to conclude this survey of the principle aspects of which the image of Baudelaire diffused in Spain was composed, it is appropriate to reflect that the impression of uniformity given by neat categories of critical opinion is really an illusion only achieved at the expense of the inevitable proportion of miscellaneous critical comments which, try as one might, not only refuse to be assimilated into the scheme of classification adopted, but also stubbornly resist any attempt to extract a relevant contribution from them. Short of fabricating a pretext which would lend them a false sense of importance, there is no option but to exclude them from

the study. There are among those made in respect of Baudelaire, however, a number which, although at first sight appear to be of little or no consequence to serious discussion of the poet's diffusion, it would undoubtedly be an error to overlook. These are references mainly of a biographical nature which give the impression of being the work of compilers of an index of behavioural eccentricities. In a review-article from 1900 bearing the title 'El neurosismo y el suicidio en los novelistas y poetas del siglo XIX', the author revealed that 'Baudelaire . . . buscaba la inspiración en el opio y en el haschich, y murió de parálisis' (43). Another review published two years later in La Lectura passed on the following conclusion from a study of Victor Hugo by Havelock Ellis:

> No hay en su obra [de Hugo] signos de sensibilidad delicada para el color, sino simplemente de amor al contraste violento. Esta observación arroja luz en la psicología de Víctor Hugo, y le diferencia de los poetas más grandes que le han seguido: Baudelaire, en quien hay un predominio anormal del negro, y De Verlaine [sic], el poeta de la nuance, que da predominio al gris (44).

In 1903, in a review of an article by Jacinto Stiavelli printed in La Rassegna Internazionale and entitled in Spanish 'Rarezas de los hombres geniales', F. Araujo reported the fact that 'Voltaire y Balzac pedían . . . inspiración al café, y Poe, Hoffman, Musset, Baudelaire, Gerardo de Nerval, no escribían sino alcoholizados' (45). In the review that followed this one - a summary of an article by a Dr. Regnault published in La Revue - the same reviewer summarised the attitudes which a number of artists from over the ages had displayed towards the creation of a final version of their compositions:

> En cuanto al trabajo de estilo, hay también de todo: Virgilio se obstinaba en hacer correcciones sin estar nunca satisfecho. Flaubert ha rehecho hasta ocho veces Madame Bovary, y hay sonetos de Baudelaire que han sido retocados cien veces; este afán de mejorar puede rayar en manía y no ser siempre favorable a la obra retocada, como pasa con los sonetos de Baudelaire y con las poesías de Heredia (46).

In yet another review published in 1903, this time of an article by a Dr. Cabanès entitled 'Les infirmités du génie' originally published in La Revue, the following examples of a phenomenon which went under the name of 'narcisismo intèlectual' were noted with respect to famous writers' attitudes to their names:

> Máximo du Camp no podía soportar que se escribiera el suyo en una sola palabra, y Baudelaire se mostraba contrariado cuando las cartas que se le dirigían llevaban la dirección: 'Señor Beaudelaire' (47).

The impression of inconsequentiality which surrounds this material when it is taken in isolation is deceptive. Clues to its hidden significance emerge when the titles of the publications from which it was extracted are revealed. It then becomes possible to see in such material an indication of the growing interest that science, which made phenomenal progress during the nineteenth century, was showing in the creative mind and what it produced. Advances in psychology lead to behavioural issues which hitherto would have been deemed to have no place in literary appreciation being considered of deep significance. The traits of character which most drew the attention of the new breed of psychologist-critics were those which were seen as symptomatic of deep-rooted mental disorders, which also manifested themselves in artistic activity.

The fact that the references to the poet's psychological life

quoted above all came to light through the medium of reviews serves as a reminder of the importance of the review as an organ of diffusion of all the principal features comprising the image of the poet in Spain which have been examined above. The contribution by this means of predominantly foreign opinion to this image is, together with the restriction of the latter to a limited number of well-defined characteristics about which critical debate revolved and evolved, typical of Baudelaire's diffusion in Spain. The aim of this chapter has been to convey an idea of range of critical information regarding Baudelaire to which the Spanish reading public had access, and to identify the series of components which went to form a composite representation of his aesthetic and moral personality. In the course of so doing, it has been possible in a number of cases to discern a specific approach which a critic applied to the interpretation of the trait he identified as representative of the poet, and also the attitude which he held towards it, as well as simply identifying the trait itself. Some brief discussion of these aspects has even been undertaken where appropriate, although it was not the principal aim of the chapter to do so. This task - the examination of approach and attitude to the poet - will be the concern of the next three chapters, as they explore the principal trends in the reception of Baudelaire in Spain.

NOTES

1. Aggeler refers to a 'forthcoming book' by José Simón Díaz, Los diarios madrileños en el siglo XIX, which, he says records that only two allusions to Baudelaire are to be found in the sources examined by the Spanish bibliographer. It appears, however, that this book never reached the stage of publication and should not be confused with Veinticuatro diarios (Madrid, 1830-1900), 4 vols (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968-1975), also by Simón Díaz, but including references to Spanish authors exclusively; or Mercedes Agulló y Cobos's Madrid en sus diarios, 4 vols (Madrid; Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1971), which lists only material concerned with Madrid. The references which Aggeler makes mention of do nevertheless appear in Simón Díaz's article 'La literatura francesa en veinticuatro diarios madrileños de 1830-1900', Revista de Literatura, 63-64 (1967), pp. 237-64 (p. 247).

2. The announcement reads 'Acaban de publicarse en París los dos primeros tomos de las "Obras Completas" de Charles Baudelaire', and is reprinted in the article by José Simón Díaz cited above (p. 247).

3. La Fanfarlo appeared in issues 6 (6/4/1882, pp. 12-14), 7 (1/5/1882, pp. 10-14), and 8 (16/5/1882, pp. 13-14).

4. 14, 16/8/1882, pp. 12-13.

5. 16, 16/9/1882, pp. 12-13.

6. Manual del librero hispanoamericano, 28 vols (Barcelona 1949), II, p. 114, abstract No. 25640.

7. 4, 15/4/1894, pp. 35-57.

8. 5, 15/5/1894, pp. 37-57.

9. Quoted in Aggeler, Baudelaire Judged by Spanish Critics, p. 28, abstract No. 37.

10. Although the infinitive '¡Pensar . . . !' might be taken here to signify the poet's anguished realisation of the fate which awaits his beloved at the end of her days, the stanza which follows suggests it should be translated not as a lamentation but as a component of homiletic peroration on the trans ience of beauty.

11. 'Carlos Baudelaire', February, pp. 94-138.

12. See Part Two, Chapter 3 of the present study.

13. Charles Asselineau, 'Baudelaire. Recueil d'anecdotes',

in Eugène Crépet, Baudelaire (Paris: Messein, no date), pp. 281-302 (p. 281).

14. Madrid Cómico, 17/9/1890, pp. 3, 6 (p. 3).

15. 'La literatura moderna en Francia', La España Moderna, September 1900, pp. 78-97 (p. 92).

16. 'La exposición de Bellas Artes de 1901', La Lectura, June 1901, pp. 24-49 (p. 27).

17. 'La exposición de Bellas Artes de 1901 (Continuación)', La Lectura, July 1901, pp. 49-82 (p. 79).

18. 'Sobre la filosofía maravillosa del silencio', Helios, 7 (1903), pp. 426-32 (p. 428).

19. Helios, 9 (1903), p. 212.

20. 'Notas de un sentimental', Helios, 4 (1904), pp. 18-19.

21. 'Notas y ensayos de una traducción de "El Cuervo" de Edgard Poe', Helios, 12 (1904), pp. 347-54 (pp. 347, 350).

22. 'Notas de un neurósico (A mi amigo Francisco Echagüe)', La Ilustración Ibérica, 5/1/1889, pp. 6-7.

23. Literatura extranjera (Paris: Garnier, 1895) pp. 293-300), (p. 300).

24. Ibid, p. 93.

25. Helios, 10 (1903), pp. 284-290 (p. 287).

26. 'Gautier', 11/6/1898, pp. 374-75 (p. 374).

27. 'Emilio Zola' (2), La Lectura, December 1902, pp. 429-41, (p. 436).

28. 'Pláticas', Alma Española, 6/3/1904, pp. 4-6 (p. 5).

29. 'La evolución de la poesía en el último cuarto de siglo', La España Moderna, May 1901, pp. 138-42 (p. 138).

30. Ibid, pp. 142-46 (p. 142).

31. 'La bohemia', La España Moderna, February 1900, pp. 161-65 (p. 161).

32. 'La literatura moderna en Francia', La España Moderna, February 1900, pp. 48-76 (p. 68).

33. From Ensayo de literatura elemental, destinado a servir de texto a los alumnos de retórica y poética (Valencia 1894), quoted in Rafael Ferreres Verlaine y los modernistas españoles (Madrid: Gredos, 1975) p. 55.

34. Literatura extranjera, pp. 313-14.

35. See 'El neomisticismo', Literatura extranjera, pp. 293-300.

36. See 'Paul Verlaine: "Liturgias íntimas" (Conclusión), La Ilustración Española y Americana, 8/10/1897, reprinted in Obra olvidada, edición de Antonio Ramos-Gascón (Madrid: Júcar 1973), pp. 178-89.

37. Review of Antonio Masi, 'La tendenzia neo-mistica latina nella letteratura portu hesa', La Sicilia Moderna, 25/2/1901 in La Lectura, April 1901, pp. 107-08 (p. 107).

38. 'Baturillo', Madrid Cómico, 15/9/1898, pp. 3, 6 (p. 3).

39. 'El poeta albanés Jerónimo de Rada', Helios, 10 (1903) pp. 355-60 (p. 356).

40. 'J. M. Bartrina', La Ilustración Ibérica, 28/7/1883 (p. 6).

41. A Literary History of Spain. The Nineteenth Century, (London: Benn, 1972) p. 59.

42. Pedro Bofill, 'Mi noche buena', Madrid Cómico, 5/1/1889, pp. 19, 22 (p. 22).

43. La España Moderna, July 1900, pp. 169-74 (p. 173).

44. J. M. González's review of Auguste Kahn, 'Victor Hugo et la critique', Revue Blanche, March 1902, in La Lectura, April 1902, pp. 666-716 (p. 685).

45. La España Moderna, March 1903, pp. 158-65 (p. 158).

46. Ibid, pp. 167-71 (p. 169).

47. Helios, 10 (1903), pp. 380-81 (p. 381).

C H A P T E R T W O

'Algo ha llegado hasta mí de Baudelaire y de Rollinat, que me han parecido dos fastidiosas y estrafalarias caricaturas'

Juan Valera, '"Jirones" de don Ramón A. Urbano' (Madrid 1900), OC, II 987b - 990b (p. 988b).

I. ART AND IDEOLOGY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

1. The anti-Romantic reaction

In a run of articles in Madrid Cómico in 1887, the critic Emilio Bobadilla, better known to his readers as Fray Candil, chose as the object of his satire a particular form of literary pretentiousness native to Spain. He labelled its exponents 'los presuntuosos'. Among the manifestations of cultural snobbery characteristic of this self-opinionated breed of littérateur was a predilection for 'scholastic' - philosophical - literature matched only by its scorn for 'materialistic' literature, that is, writing in which aesthetic qualities predominated over ideas. This preference governed the 'presuntuoso ' taste above all in matters of poetry. Fray Candil chose to illustrate this by mimicking one of their typical responses, and in so doing, he made a reference to Baudelaire:

> ¿Poetas? Richepin, Baudelaire . . . ¡A ver si se marcha V. de aquí con esos blasfemos, materialistas empedernidos, según dicen porque nosotros no hemos perdido el tiempo leyendo esas pornografías! (1).

The expression of sentiments of this kind, attacking both the moral character of Baudelaire's work as well as the aesthetic conceptions behind it, was by no means restricted to the 'presuntuosos'. It formed the characteristic response to the poet shown by many critics representing the Spanish literary establishment during the decades spanning the turn of the century. These critics were traditionalists in their ideology or their aesthetics or both, and consequently the opinions they expressed showed the influence, in varying

degrees of combination, of Catholicism, conservatism and nationalism. As is to be expected, therefore, they viewed the idea of art and the artist as formulated by Baudelaire, as well as the moral implications they saw in his work, as a threat to the values they upheld for life as well as for art. The critical response which they evolved consequently concerned itself almost exclusively with rationalising their disapproval of, and objections to, the poet's work, and with combatting his aesthetics and world-view.

The nature of this response to the poet lends support to the theory expounded by D. L. Shaw regarding the origins and existence of a body of traditionalist critical opinion in Spain from relatively early in the nineteenth century, and by extension ratifies his contention that Spanish Romanticism expressed a crisis of consciousness brought about by the collapse of traditionally-held philosophical values. A brief examination of the origins of this adverse critical response is necessary if its underlying motives are to be fully comprehended.

The case for considering Spanish Romanticism not purely as a literary phenomenon corresponding to one of the phases in the cyclic progression of humanity, but for understanding it within its historical context as 'a shift of sensibility, a change of attitude to the human condition, a new view of life' (2), has already been argued cogently by Shaw in his article 'Towards the understanding of Spanish romanticism' (Modern Language Review, 58 [1963]) and in the opening chapters of his book A Literary History of Spain: the Nineteenth Century (London 1972). Let it suffice, therefore, to limit discussion of this question to a brief quotation from the former in which Shaw summarises his

belief that

> the origins of romanticism are to be sought not in national character or in literary conditions, but in the metaphysical crisis at the end of the eighteenth century and in what Kierkegaard called the 'rift in existence' which it produced . . . [and which] involved the apparent collapse of previously established absolute values, whether these rested on religion or on rationalism (p. 191).

In the minority of writers genuinely affected by what Shaw calls the 'metaphysical crisis', the loss of values engendered the spirit of doubt and deep-rooted scepticism characteristic of authentic Romantic insight and dubbed criticismo in Spain. Nostalgic for old truths which, paradoxically, they could no longer believe in, the Romantics were beset by a malaise which was aggravated by the possibility that the real facts of life and the universe to be perceived when the buffer-filter of a moral system had vanished might be somewhat less than consolatory. This atmosphere of disillusion, this sense of futility and the bitter truth that consolation and understanding of life were perhaps gone forever combined to create the climate which nurtured that most characteristic feature of the Romantic sensibility, existential anguish.

A vital outlook of this kind clearly posed a threat to all, which those who continued to accept the traditional world-view - the majority - held dear for various reasons, both in the challenge it posed to their vital presuppositions, and in the corrosive pessimism which threatened to undermine attitudes conducive to their survival:

> But romanticism was in essence revolutionary. It involved not only a new view of literature but also a new view of life: a view which orthodox opinion saw as subversive to those habitual preconceptions, values and beliefs which were

> held to be essential to the safety and stability of society (3).

The reaction of the representatives of 'orthodox opinion' contrasted markedly with the vacillation and uncertainty which plagued the Romantics. In Spain Romantic ideology 'met with tenacious opposition from a body of traditionalist Catholic opinion already alarmed by encyclopaedic ideas and fervently hostile to any innovations in thought which might prove disolventes' (4). In reality this body of opinion should be considered as extending beyond the committed upholders of traditionalist ideas to include those who, like Valera for example, had been driven to question their own traditionalist presuppositions but who felt that to admit the negative truths which suggested themselves in their place was morally counter-productive or even dangerous. The reaction to literary Romanticism expressed itself both through criticism and in literature itself, where it gave rise to a didactic form of writing having as its aim the propagation of sound ideas and solid, traditional principles. These attitudes of opposition to negative thought were to persist throughout the nineteenth century, dominating developments in Spanish literature until the turn of the century and ever sensitive to resurgences of 'ideas disolventes'.

Shaw omits to mention in this respect that a similar critical reception also awaited foreign writers cast in the same mould as the Spanish Romantics and their ideological descendents, and whose influence threatened to make inroads in Spanish literature. Baudelaire was such a writer, for although the strain of the mal du siècle which pervaded his writing differed from Romantic anguish in a number of important ways,

it posed no less of a threat in the eyes of the guardians of the old truths. Indeed, the measures which Shaw identifies as the principal tactics in the traditionalists' campaign against negative thought were all used against the poet or were reflected more or less directly in the contexts in which he was discussed. The nature of these stratagems reveals that even crusaders have to be pragmatists. Speaking of the reaction to Romanticism in particular, Shaw says that

> much criticism . . . has tended either to adopt a highly condemnatory tone where any unorthodox view is voiced, to deny the sincerity of the writer in question, or worst of all to attempt to drag him willy-nilly into the fold by ignoring or suppressing part of the evidence (5).

He also notes three aspects of the orthodoxy's reaction to deviant thought throughout the century which were the particular legacy of the anti-Romantic reaction. These were 'the systematic rejection of the Romantics' despairing vision of life and its reflection in art', 'unashamed moral didacticism' in the literature which it produced, and its support for the doctrine of art for art's sake. The apparent incongruity of the last of these aspects, given the nature of the original French movement of L'art pour l'art, has its explanation in a special acceptation given to the term by Spanish traditionalist critics by which the quest for beauty as the ultimate aim of art came to be synonymous with the removal of all that was disolvente from the work of art on the grounds that it was 'unaesthetic'.

2. Defensive measures

The first occasion on which Baudelaire was ever mentioned in the Spanish press may indeed be taken to exemplify what Shaw

refers to as an attempt 'to drag [a writer] willy-nilly into the fold by ignoring or suppressing part of the evidence'. The reference comprised a quotation, accompanied by the poet's name and a Spanish translation, of the second quatrain from the sonnet 'La Cloche fêlée' (OC, 83):

> Bienheureuse la cloche au gosier vigoureux
> Qui, malgré sa vieillesse, alerte et bien portante,
> Jette fidèlement son cri religieux,
> Ainsi qu'un vieux soldat qui veille sous la tente!

It appeared at the head of an article by Fernán Caballero published in El Pensamiento de Valencia in 1857 (6). The authoress was, of course, a stalwart of the anti-Romantic cause who had made a significant contribution to the defence of traditional values through her own creative writing. In this particular article she had chosen to discuss an appropriately pious theme: the role of bells in the Catholic faith, and it is significant that the quatrain which she selected to complement this theme was the one which, when taken in isolation, most belied the rather less edifying sentiments which the poem in reality expressed:

> Moi, mon âme est fêlée, et lorsqu'en ses ennuis
> Elle veut de ses chants peupler l'air froid des nuits,
> Il arrive souvent que sa voix affaiblie
>
> Semble le râle épais d'un blessé qu'on oublie
> Au bord d'un lac de sang, sous un grand tas de morts,
> Et qui meurt, sans bouger, dans d'immenses efforts.

No allusion whatsoever was made in the article to these aspects of the poem. Although on the strength of this evidence one cannot establish beyond all doubt whether Fernán Caballero was guided in choosing this quotation by ulterior motives of an ideological or moral nature, the strong possibility still remains that on this occasion she engineered a tactical misrepresentation of the moral character of Les Fleurs du Mal, the first edition of which had been published in Paris in the same year.

Another comment representative of the same body of critical opinion was made in 1895 by Farnando Santander y Gómez in his Historia del progreso científico, artístico y literario en el siglo XIX (Barcelona [1895]). Here, discussion of Baudelaire centred around his contribution to the development of Symbolism, with respect to which Santander y Gómez identified three aesthetic principles. The first was that of the theory of correspondances, which the critic applauded as a fruitful innovation which had served to widen the field of poetic expression. Nevertheless, his attitude turned to one of censure when he came to discuss the other two, the cult of artificiality and the theory of decadance. Santander y Gómez chose as an explanation of these aspects, quotations from some of the most controversial passages from the Notice, where they were described in terms most likely to arouse the suspicion of or create an adverse reaction in the uninitiated reader. He then abandoned the objective and dispassionate style he had maintained up until that moment to give vent to his own indignation:

> -¡Vaya unas ideas!- dirá el lector; y dirá bien. No puede darse mayor inmoralidad, Y ¿qué decir de

> la teoría de la decadencia? ¿Qué del enamoramiento de las corrupciones de estilo? ¿Qué de querer de tratar de aristocracia a los extravagantes del ideal y de la forma? ¿Qué de jactarse, de alardear de sentimientos ignominiosos, malsanos, sucios? (p. 320).

He went on to express his relief that Baudelaire's influence, which had threatened to be profound, had been counteracted by the emergence of two other aesthetic currents, much more acceptable in his eyes, which had been combined with the bases provided by the French poet to create Symbolism proper:

> Por dicha, precisamente cuando Baudelaire amenazaba, aunque muerto, con ser el maestro de la nueva generación poética (1875-1880) aparecieron dos nuevos elementos que neutralizaron la influencia nefasta que de otra manera hubiera ejercido sin limitación el autor de las Flores del Mal: esas influencias fueron las de los pre-rafaelitas ingleses y la de los novelistas rusos, escuelas igualmente notables por su tendencia a introducir en el arte un fin moralizador.
>
> Es asombroso, en verdad, que pudieran fusionarse unas ideas antiéticas como el culto de Baudelaire por la depravación y el horror a la depravación común a los pre-rafaelitas y a los rusos; pero ello fue así, formándose un compuesto extraño de artificio baudelairiano, de candor pre rafaelítico y de brutalidad moscovita. Esa combinación está representada en música por Wagner, y en poesía por los simbolistas. De ahí el parentesco que creen encontrar muchos entre el autor de Tristan e Isolda, y Baudelaire, entendiendo que la religión del sufrimiento humano (Parsifal) tiene algo de morboso y que el exceso de misticismo conduce al sensualismo (p. 320).

This attack directed against Baudelaire's aesthetics confirms Shaw's observation that one of the approaches adopted by the traditionalists was merely to reject the opposition's standpoint out of hand. It follows a typical pattern. In the first place, the elements singled out for discussion by Santander y Gómez were those most likely to astound conventional sensibilities. They were subsequently emphasised to a disproportionate degree, giving the impression that their importance was greater

and their occurence much more frequent than was in reality the case. Then, against these aspects was levelled the charge of immorality, supported by the assumption that the reader could not fail to take offence at the poet's ideas, or find them quite preposterous. All these factors reflect a further presupposition, of which traditionalist critics made extensive use. It suggested that the ideological position which they upheld was the expression of a moral sense innate in man, and so represented in the judgements it made, a natural instinctive appreciation of what was good, and by extension, what was aesthetically pleasing. The implication of this belief in terms of aesthetic practice was that the aim of art should be to create a type of beauty which tallied with or confirmed traditional presuppositions, whence Santander y Gómez's approval of art which embodied a 'fin moralizador'. In this way it became easy for the orthodoxy to dismiss art which challenged or threatened existing moral and ideological conventions as 'wrong' or 'misguided', on the grounds that its aesthetic principles were founded in immorality.

The idea that Baudelaire, and, indeed, all the other ideological and aesthetic dissidents representing Romantic thought in literature, were simply misguided and mistaken in their vital attitudes, was repeated by Emilia Pardo Bazán in 1900 in the course of one of a series of articles she wrote on the subject of contemporary developments in French literature. Speaking of French Romanticism, the authoress attempted to account for the iconoclastic spirit and cult of evil which in her eyes characterised the movement by suggesting that its exponents had mishandled the freedom which literary circumstances had afforded them:

> La humorada de Alfred de Musset tiene su miga: el romanticismo puede ser todas las cosas imaginables si consideramos que un canón de su estética manda a cada escritor abundar en su propio sentido y ostentar por fueros sus bríos y por pragmáticos su voluntad.
>
> De esta licencia desenfrenada nace la inmoralidad esencial del romanticismo. 'Cuando un siglo es malo - escribe un escritor francés - cuando vivimos en épocas en que ni hay religión, ni moral, ni fe en el porvenir, ni creencia en lo pasado, cuando para estas épocas escribimos, bien podemos desafiar y conculcar todas las reglas, derrocar todas las estatuas, divinizar el mal y la fatalidad; quien se llame Schiller, dueño es de escribir Los bandidos, y responder de antemano a la posteridad: mi siglo era así, y como lo he visto lo he pintado'. ¿Quién estampó este juicio austero y pesimista? ¿Fue algún moderno padre de la Iglesia, un Bonald, acaso un Luis Veuillot? No por cierto. Fue el escéptico autor de Rolla, fue el libertino cantor de Namuna [sic] ; el mismísimo Alfredo de Musset. El párrafo encierra en cifra el porvenir literario de nuestro siglo, y anuncia bien claramente ciertos monstruosos delirios que ya registra atónita la historia literaria: el satanismo y el culto al mal erigidos en religión estética dentro del ciclo del decadentismo, y teniendo por sumo sacerdote a un poeta tan grande como Carlos Baudelaire. Espantosas consecuencias de un error de principio: la falsa interpretación del concepto de libertad, que en arte no es un fin sino únicamante un medio, una condición para realizar la belleza (7).

The contention expressed by Emilia Pardo Bazán in the closing sentence of this quotation that liberty in art should not be an end but a means is no less disturbing than the consequences which she attributed to the Romantics' abuse of a new-found sense of artistic freedom were frightening to her. The effect of her proposition would have been to restrict the expression of freedom in art to what she calls 'una condición'. For her this meant the aesthetic circumstances, the means of expression, the vehicle for beauty, leaving the idea of beauty itself, or the principles from which it emanated, untouched and unaffected by the innovative impulse generated by a sense of liberty. This

would deny art any right to participate in an ideological revolution, and would naturally guarantee the safety and survival of the traditional criteria by which the established concept of beauty had been formulated.

A further attack on modern aesthetics came from Emilio Ferrari, disciple of Núñez de Arce, in a speech given on the occasion of his entry into the Real Academia Española. The fact that this took place as late as 1905 shows how traditionalist thought persisted in some circles even after the battle for modernismo had been won by the Helios group. Ferrari saw modernismo as symptomatic of a collective spiritual decline which had possessed the spirits of the poets of the day, and which manifested itself in a number of the salient features of their poetry and aesthetics: refinement and erudition, but without profundity or analytical purpose, the belief that art was a superior activity exercised by superior spirits, corruption of language and artificiality, and a disdain for common and national concerns. This anti-democratic, inward-looking art was compared with previous epochs of Spanish literary history displaying the same symptoms:

> Leyendo el Cancionero de Baena se cree tener ante los ojos una antología modernista. La misma poesía a la vez erudita y superficial, fútil y sabia, mística y obscena; las mismas abstracciones vestidas de enrevesado simbolismo; la misma afectación de ingenuidad, la misma laxitud en lo atañadero a la esencia, que se torna rigor inexorable así que se trata de lo externo, donde se desdeña el arte común por la maestría mayor o alta calenda. Y todos aquellas sutilezas escolásticas, aquellos arrobos petrarquistas, aquellos decires devotos o desvergonzados, aquellos fríos alambicamientos de estructura, producíanse plácidamente en borrascoso y crítico período, entre el tumulto de la anarquía y de la guerra por un grupo de

> rimadores divorciados de la vida nacional. . . .
> Mas donde la analogía se señala plenamente hasta convertirse no ya en aire de familia, sino en inmediato parentesco, es en la desastrosa epidemia propagada a fines del siglo XVII, en que agravados al extremo los síntomas anteriores, la musa hasta entonces sí extraviada, briosa y ardiente todavía, cayó en un desvarío de postración y de caquexia, fruto de los esfuerzos contra natura realizados. . . . Ya lo veis: en todo ello la caducidad empeñada en pasar plaza de innovadora; el aura epiléptica retorciendo el arte con las más estrafalarias contorsiones, la hojarasca vacía, la hinchazón anémica; en suma, una miseria despilfarrada, propia de aquella que dijérase generación de indigentes atacada del delirio de las grandezas.
> La evidencia de lo expuesto ha sido parte a todas luces para que otros con más lógica aceptaran francamente por lema el 'decadentismo', jactándose de representar en la nuestra aquellas malas épocas artísticas. Para éstos las decadencias literarias son puestas de sol, donde la cruda luz meridiana se derrite en fantasmagoría policroma de magníficos cambiantes y esplendores. El autor de 'Esmaltes y Camafeos', os dirá que tal arte es el de las civilizaciones en su deliscuescencia, cuyo modelo ha de buscarse en el bajo Imperio romano o en la abominación bizantina. El cantor de 'Las Flores del mal' verá en la poesía que debe sus gracias a la simple naturaleza: 'una rústica matrona repugnante de salud y virtudes' (8).

Ferrari was representative of a different strain of traditionalism from those critics examined previously. One can discern in his sentiments a concern with nationalistic rather than moral issues. Moreover, the terminology used by this civically-minded poet was in some respects not so far removed from the Spanish psychologist-critics who will be examined in the next chapter, and whose interest in the health of the national spirit was also in evidence. Nevertheless, his response constituted an integral part of the reaction by traditionalist forces to the upsurge of anti-establishment thought expressed in new artistic movements.

II. JUAN VALERA AND THE MORALITY OF ART

One of the most virulent Spanish detractors of Baudelaire was the writer and critic Juan Valera (1824-1905). Unwavering and undaunted in his opposition to the expression in art of unorthodox moral and philosophical attitudes, Valera saw the role of guardian of what he believed to be wholesome art as an integral part of his critical activity. Indeed, he made it his business to use literary criticism to this end. The crusading stance he adopted in this respect is attributable to his belief that dissent in the face of the conditions of existence was merely the result of a failure on the part of misguided spirits to perceive the magnanimity of God's creation. In Valera's eyes, the corrosive capacity of dissent lay less in the mere expression of ideas contrary to those upon which established opinion rested as in circumspect yet more persuasive means of articulating the same challenge. He realised, quite rightly, that to infuse rejection of traditionally-held ideas with a sense of despondency or despair would sow the seeds of discord in a much more insidious fashion than would a more restrained, serene, or even humorous expression of rebellion.

For Valera, then, art was an instrument of ideology whether or not it intended to be. Consequently, he set out to encourage a form of literary expression from which any challenge to traditional values was absent. He believed interpretations of life in literature that expressed less than optimism should be avoided, even at the expense of realism, if this were unedifying or failed to reassure the reader that ultimately all was well on earth. Valera applied this principle when

composing his own novels, which he set up as models of 'amena literatura', as he called it (9). Criticism, on the other hand, provided him with a format for a somewhat more direct involvement in the polemic concerning art and ideology in Spain in the second half of the nineteenth century. This is borne out by his repeated use of critical evaluation as a pretext for laying down the standards to which he expected art to adhere. We will now proceed to identify precisely what this involved, but first a brief word of explanation: the apparent disregard for chronology in the use of quotations during the course of the analysis which follows is due simply to the negligible variation in Valera's aesthetic ideas over the period from which they are taken.

1. 'C'est le ton qui fait la chanson'

Donald Shaw has quite correctly indicated that Valera considered art to be an end in itself (10). Valera's pronouncements to this effect are, indeed, quite explicit, as the essay 'Fines del arte fuera del arte', published in 1896, shows:

> Siempre fui yo partidario del arte puro, de que no haya en él otro fin ni propósito que la creación de la belleza; dar pasatiempo, solaz y alegría al espíritu y elevarle a esferas superiores por la contemplación de lo ideal y de lo que se acerca a lo perfecto, cuando logra revestirse de forma material o bien expresarse por medio de signos, como son los tonos y la palabra hablada o escrita.
>
> De aquí que yo, en obras de amena literatura, y especialmente en dramas y novelas, guste poquísimo de la tesis, y menos aún de lo que llaman Zola y sus parciales documentos humanos (OC, II, 902).

At first sight this definition of 'pure art' may appear to be compatible with the now generally accepted, post-Romantic view

of art for art's sake, expressed notably in the aesthetics of Théophile Gautier. The creation of beauty is stipulated as the sole and ultimate aim of the creative process. Closer examination, however, reveals that the similarity is purely nominal. Valera's adherence to a doctrine of art for art's sake was motivated not by the desire to free art from extrinsic concerns, but to create a certain response in the reader. Beauty, Valera said, should raise the consciousness of the reader to higher planes 'por la contemplación de lo ideal y de lo que se acerca a lo perfecto', and also added the revealing proviso that it should 'dar pasatiempo, solaz y alegría al espíritu'. The objectives which Valera proposed for art resulted then, in a prescriptive and, indeed proscriptive definition of beauty which contrasts quite markedly with the aesthetic sovereignty and liberty accorded to the absolute principle of l'art pour l'art.

An initial clue as to why Valera paradoxically specified conditions which beauty should fulfil, while proclaiming himself to be an exponent of a doctrine where no restrictions should have been imposed in this respect, is to be found in his belief in an aesthetic sense innate in man. Interestingly enough, the fact comes to light in the course of a discussion on what art should not be, a typical example of Valera's proscriptive approach to aesthetics:

> El arte no es meramente la imitación de la bella naturaleza. Para imitar la bella naturaleza es menester saber distinguirla de la fea. Hay, pues, en nosotros un criterio artístico que precede a la imitación y aun a la observación; hay en nosotros un ideal de hermosura que nos sirve de norma y de guía para conocer la hermosura real y reproducirla en nuestras obras, purificándola y limpiándola de sus imperfecciones y lunares. El arte no es, por tanto, la imitación de la Naturaleza, sino la creación de la hermosura

> y la manifestación de la idea que tenemos de ella en el alma, revistiendo esta idea de forma sensible. Al revestir la idea de esta forma, es indispensable muy a menudo la imitación y esta necesidad engañó sin duda a Aristóteles. La poesía, la escultura y la pintura imitan siempre algo. La hermosura que estas artes crean se determina e individualiza, de suerte que tiene que imitar para ello un tipo natural conocido (OC, II, 217).

Valera, then, associated pleasure or displeasure experienced as a result of contact with a work of art, with the operation of an innate faculty of aesthetic appreciation. Yet his reason for making this belief the cornerstone of his aesthetic principles was far from being a desire to champion man's instinctive good taste in matters of art. Indeed, the critic did not recognise the autonomy of aesthetic values. He considered aesthetic appreciation to be a dimension of man's moral sense. Under such conditions, artistic beauty would be equated with respect for moral principles. Similarly, pleasure would be defined as the reaction to detecting the presence of morality in art. All this is implicit in the belief which Valera repeatedly stressed that art and morality should be inseparable:

> Como quiera que sea, es lo cierto que la poesía, aun para los que seguimos la doctrina del arte por el arte, no es, en el más lato sentido, independiente de la moral (OC, II, 830).

A declaration of this nature may seem at least paradoxical to those familiar with the more general acceptance of the term 'art for art's sake'. It is possible that Valera himself sensed how close he was to self-contradiction, for he went on to elaborate a distinction which not only clarified his idea of the relationship between art and morality but also attempted to resolve the paradox arising from the association of 'pure art'

with moral objectives:

> No se pone a su servicio ni la toma como fin, porque su fin está en ella; pero la poesía, siguiendo desembarazada y libre por su camino, si es de buena ley y de alto vuelo, al llegar a su término, tiene que parar en la moral más perfecta y pura que se concibe en la época en que el poeta vive, a no ser que éste, lleno de aliento profético, suba más alto y columbre y revele más bellos ideales (OC, II, 830).

In the same article, Valera left no doubt that the intervention of a moral standard in art applied not only to the artist creating beauty but also to the critic evaluating artistic creations:

> Ya se entiende, que, partidario yo del arte por el arte, he de prescindir y prescindo de toda religión positiva y de toda moral que en ella se funde, para juzgar una composición poética. De lo que es difícil prescindir es de la moral universal que coincide con la belleza artística (OC, II, 823).

For Valera, then, beautiful art was moral art, and the pleasure experienced by those who came into contact with it was in reality the result of gratification of the moral sense. Yet it is clear that what the critic meant by morality was the values and standards to which he adhered. Nowhere is this more obvious than in his stipulation that to attain true beauty, the artist should not only respect the universal moral law, as he deemed it, but also take into account

> algunas conveniencias sociales, que son ineludible requisito para que esa belleza artística se produzca sin que lo estorbe la disonancia entre la obra del poeta y las costumbres, los usos y hasta, si se quiere, las preocupaciones y los disimulos de la sociedad en que el poeta vive (OC, II, 823-24).

The critic was clearly anxious that any conflict between art and

social mores should be avoided, and that the established and generally accepted moral code should be respected even if it were itself based upon institutionalised deceit designed to block society's ears to the less comforting or edifying lessons that experience might try to impart. The choice of a criterion as axiomatic as public taste shows quite unequivocally how deeply-rooted Valera's imposition of requirements was in a desire to remove from art any element of challenge to the ideological bases upon which he believed the society in which he lived rested.

It is, then, no exaggeration to describe Valera's concept of artistic beauty as that which appeased the moral sense of individuals who accepted and desired the survival of established values. Art, he believed, should reassure, not challenge. This explains not only the unmistakeably ideological nature of the yardstick which the critic applied to art, but also the emphasis he accorded to the effective potential of works of art. He constantly described them in terms of their moral impact, or, more precisely, how they would be received by a hypothetical reader embodying the moral, ideological and philosophical presuppositions which in Valera's view constituted good taste. He sought to encourage a type of art which satisfied, and never contradicted, this reader's moral expectations.

In the course of his critical writings, the critic identified a number of more concrete strategies relevant to the fulfilment of this aim. One such action was the expression of agreeable emotions which could only serve to uplift and delight the reader:

> Entiéndese, con todo, que para que estéticamente gustemos de versos así los mismos profanos, es menester que un dejo de verdadero amor, de ternura y de otros bellos sentimientos, difunda en el cuadro que el poeta nos trace, algunos

resplandores de la luz del Cielo (OC, II, 830).

The call for art to be infused with 'bellos sentimientos' - here with overtly religious overtones - provides a concrete example of the critic's belief that the 'tone' of a work of art was of paramount importance in guaranteeing that it was aesthetically pleasing. By the 'tone' Valera seems to have been referring to the spirit in which a work is written, or, more precisely, the attitude of mind behind the way the content is presented. It follows that he believed what is said to be not so important - at least from the point of view of meeting the moral standard he imposed - as the way in which it was said. Valera even went as far as to suggest that subject-matter likely to offend the reader's moral sensibility could be rendered innocuous by the cosmetic of an appropriate 'tone' in its depiction, as the reference to '[versos] así los mismos profanos' clearly shows. This point is also made in an article published in 1891, where the critic states that 'C'est le ton qui fait la chanson. La alegría, la ligereza, el aire improvisado e irreflexivo lo disculpa todo' (OC, II, 830).

and again in 1896:

> Por dicha, los poetas no valen por lo que dicen, sino por la elegancia, primor y entusiasmo con lo que lo dicen . . .
> En suma: cada poeta se va por su camino y sustenta opinión diversa y contraria a la de los otros. Lo que importa es que la sustenten bien y con brío. Entonces los aplaudimos a todos y cada uno de los que aplauden se queda con la opinión que tenía, si no es un tonto y si no hace como los que se mataban después de leer el Werther, de Goethe (OC, II, 908).

In this last instance, the example of suspect subject-matter chosen is the expression of opinions ideologically contrary to those held by the critic (which, incidentally, are

deemed to be those of every reader with the right moral standpoint). Two reasons are given regarding why divergent opinions should be couched in a vigorous, spirited, and hearty tone. The first is that to do so will incite the approval even of those readers who disagree with the actual ideas put forward. The second is that these same readers will thereby also retain their own opinions, unless they are weak-willed 'tontos' who are easily seduced and led astray by other's ideas. This second point is intriguing. Why was Valera so adamant that reader's opinions should not be modified? How can the 'tone' of a work of art influence a reader's opinions and beliefs? There can be only one explanation, and it becomes clear when we recall that the reader's beliefs were those which Valera himself supported and consider that the particular divergent opinions that he had in mind when writing the above lines were expressions of a negative scepticism in literature which he was committed to combatting. To couch pessimistic ideas in an enthusiatic tone would remove their potential corrosive capacity, for it was the tone of despair and despondency accompanying such ideas (rather than the ideas themselves) that would have posed the greatest threat to the survival of established moral values. That literature should not influence the reader in his opinion was, therefore, a way of saying that it should not constitute a challenge to his wholesome ideas. Manipulation of the 'tone' of the work of art was the way Valera prescribed to guarantee that this would be the case. All these points are summarised in the following quotation from an article entitled appropriately 'Disonancias y armonías de la moral y de la estética', in which the subject of discussion is the 'satanic' poems of the Italian Carducci:

> Supongo que el poeta se rebela contra esos usos [las costumbres que debe respetar el poeta] , costumbres y creencias, porque los considera malos o tontos. No por eso he de escandalizarme. Antes bien, aplaudiré al poeta como poeta, si impugna con primor y con brío lo que yo crea más santo, aunque yo, pongo por caso, como católico, considere que él, como impío, acabara, en castigo de sus bien rimadas blasfemias, por arder eternamente en lo más profundo del infierno (OC, II, 824).

Here Valera reiterates that the moral dimension of literature is not expressed in its subject-matter, but in the tone, for it is the tone which strikes a chord in the reader, either offending or delighting his moral sense. In this instance, however, Valera's own ideological affiliation and that of his main adversaries are quite explicit. The conflict of opinions is clearly a confrontation between the Catholic morality of the reader and the blasphemous impiety of the dissident or unbeliever. For Valera, an acceptable tone was one which did not offend the moral sense. This is evident from the terms in which he identified the ingredient essential to achieving propriety of tone. He declared, in the same essay, that 'Lo que exigen la religión cristiana y toda religión moral, y hasta sin religión y sin moral, la estética y el decoro, es el recato' (OC, II, 825). 'Recato' possesses two meanings. On the one hand, it signifies discretion and decency, and on the other, tactful prudence or discipline. It will become clear, when we turn to examine precisely how Valera prescribed that content which did not conform to his standards of morality should be treated, that the critic exploited both semantic possibilities. Of greater immediate interest, however, is the illustration this quotation provides of the care which Valera took to make sure that what he stipulated for art

appeared justifiable and, indeed, indispensable. In making his demand for 'recato', Valera appealed to seemingly absolute criteria. 'Recato', he explained, is a quality which moral and amoral standards alike require of art. By attributing the necessity of 'recato' to an absolute requirement of human taste, the critic was attempting to dispel any indication of the actual partisan nature of such a directive, and to allay suspicion that he was being anything less than totally objective in imposing this condition. It was evidently Valera's intention to create the impression that he was not merely expressing an opinion, but stating unquestionable and indisputable facts which happenned to be true quite independently of what he or anyone else might feel personally. This was a tactic to which the critic resorted more than once when formulating prerequisites to which he believed art should adhere. Probably the prime example of its use is his belief that man is endowed with an innate ability, originating in the moral sense, to distinguish between what is aesthetically good and bad. Another illustration is to be found in his contention, quoted above, that 'la poesía, si es de buena ley y de alto vuelo, . . . tiene que parar en la moral más perfecta y pura que se concibe en la época en que el poeta vive' (OC, II, 830). Here, use of the verb 'tener que' to express the necessity of a coincidence between beauty and morality leaves it unclear as to whether that necessity is synonymous with desirability (morality and beauty do not always coincide but they should do) or inevitability (true beauty and morality co-exist by definition). 'Tener que' allows expression of opinion and statement of fact to be present at the same time, and clearly the indisputability of the latter permeates the former.

Such methods were obviously those of a critic not out to explain and elucidate texts, but to convince readers to view literature from a certain standpoint. What Peter Hamm says of the norms of taste and achievement according to which the professional critic of the twentieth century makes his assessments is equally true of Valera:

> El crítico no puede permitirse el confesar que su posición es cuestionable. . . . tiene que aparecer como instancia en lugar de presentarse como persona. Esto significa que debe dar un carácter absoluto a sus categorías (11).

2. Formulas for offence

Valera defined the means to achieve the conditions he stated for art in proscriptive as well as prescriptive terms. More precisely, he considered certain themes and subject-matter to be naturally unaesthetic. The critic did not necessarily imply by this that such material had no place in art. Rather, he meant that if it were not handled by the artist in the right way, it would either offend the reader's moral sense, or alternatively, it would appear so ridiculous as to fail to evoke the dignity or sublimity of feeling characteristic of 'bellos sentimientos':

> Es indudable que hay desventuras y venturas, triunfos y derrotas, dolores y placeres grandísimos que en la vida real se lamentan o se celebran, pero sobre los cuales hay que pasar con rapidez en la representación artística, si no queremos hacer reír con ellos (OC, II, 826).

A concrete example of this generalisation is to be found in Valera's censure of Salvador Rueda, whom he accused of abusing the depiction of sexual behaviour in his Himno a la carne:

> No conviene introducir al pueblo en la alcoba, ni imitar al rey de Lidia con Giges. Contra eso peca usted, no pasando de ligero, sino deteniéndose en pormenores con exceso de morbosa delectación. No cae usted en que ciertos actos tienen mucho de grotescos, si no van acompañados de misterioso recato. . . . Sólo cuando querían [los autores clásicos] hacer reír lo describían todo lo antiestético del goce de amor, patentizado por el arte y descrito con circunstancias menudas, se ve hasta en los poemas más primitivos (OC, II, 825).

Both of these quotations provide admirable illustrations of why Valera conceded so much importance to the treatment of subject-matter in creating a suitable tone in a work of art. Admittedly, Valera considered certain subject-matter to be immoral, yet he reserved his condemnation for the tendency on the part of the artist to dwell upon it. Excessive attention to subject-matter which is naturally disturbing, offensive or 'unaesthetic', allows its true nature to surface in the work of art and thereby come directly into contact with the moral consciousness of the reader. A true disciple of beauty, it is implied, would have presented the same material in such a way as to protect the reader's moral sense from the consequences of a confrontation with dubious subject-matter. Furthermore, it is in this belief that an explanation for Valera's rejection of mimetic art, and the origin of his particular concept of 'art for art's sake' is to be found. The critic equated imitating nature with unbending truth to life, and consequently with the suppression of the innate aesthetic sense by which the artist distinguishes between beauty and ugliness and makes the corresponding choice in favour of the former. In short, Valera believed it is not the business of art to depict things as they really are, as this might well involve the inclusion of unpalatable truths and realities offensive to the moral sense.

This point was made quite forcefully by Valera in an article on the responsibility of the artist, published in 1900. Also evident in this article is the extent to which the critic based his definition of mimetic art on Naturalist aesthetics, a move which permitted him to launch a virulent attack upon this movement:

> Ha de entenderse. . . que los crímenes y los horrores representados en una obra poética no deben tomar la apariencia o semejanza completa de los sucesos reales, como pretende hoy lo que llaman naturalismo. El deleite estético no se daría entonces. Al contrario, tendríamos un grave disgusto. . . . Tal modo de conmover con la imitación exacta y brutal de las cosas reales dista mucho de ser el arte verdadero. Solo los menos que medianos artistas deben apelar a tal recurso. El refrán lo dice: A mal Cristo, mucha sangre (OC, II, 994).

In an earlier article he had censured, for precisely the same reasons, the magnification of values contrary to those which he deemed to comprise the basis of a healthy and stable attitude to existence:

> El elogiar con premeditación a tales enemigos [mundo, demonio y carne] implica un descaro que repugna a las creencias religiosas de la gran mayoría de los españoles, los cuales son, o se supone que son, católicos (OC, II, 823).

Valera's aim, as has already been established, was to protect the worldview from the recurring challenges of a growing tide of negative thought which had found in literature one of its most significant outlets. Given this, it is not surprising to find that of all the subjects which Valera considered taboo unless neutralised according to the measures he prescribed, the one to which he gave most serious attention was the expression of pessimism. As a supporter and representative of the ideological

status-quo in Spain, this committed critic treated scepticism as a mental aberration, a deviation from the norm. One tactic to which he had recourse was to suggest that constitutional malaise stemmed from a failure to appreciate God's magnanimous and benevolent gift of a world purposefully created for mankind:

> Porque Dios no hizo todas las cosas materiales y luego al hombre, sin caer en ello y como por una fatal consecuencia de su fecundo ser, sino que lo hizo todo con voluntad y libertad y propósito, el cual no pudo ser sino generoso y grande; a saber, para comunicarse él, que es bien infinito, en la medida posible, a todas las criaturas finitas (OC, II, 464).

He argued that a sense of disharmony between a human being and the world into which he was born was the result of that individual's failure to comprehend the true nature of God's benevolence, and that it was consequently erroneous to rationalise misfortunes in terms of a malevolent universe or a malign deity controlling man's destiny:

> Y sin embargo, creemos tanto en la energía de la voluntad, prevaleciendo contra todo determinismo y contra todo fatalismo, que no hay desventura, chica o grande, que nos ocurra, que no la atribuyamos a alguna tontería o a alguna culpa nuestra. Y cuando no es así, la desventura, si lo es, lo cual puede disputarse, proviene de la misma naturaleza de las cosas, contra la cual es absurdo rebelarse y chillar (OC, II, 605).

Valera was nevertheless willing to accept that pessimism did exist. He further admitted that it could, like other forms of morally suspect subject-matter, appear in literature as long as it was couched in an appropriate tone. He imposed two stipulations in this respect. The first was that the form it takes on in real life, the state of mind as it is actually experienced, should not be communicated to the reader:

> Claro está que el pesimista en prosa, el pesimista constante y real, si es poco creyente, anda siempre a punto de ahorcarse o de pegarse un tiro; y si es muy creyente, se va a una ermita o a una gruta y se harta de disciplinarios o se rompe el esternón con una piedra; y si no cree ni descree sino a medias, parece la sombra de Nino en paseos y tertulias, y es uno de los seres más insufribles que Dios ha criado. Mientras que el pesimista estético sufre él su pesimismo con la mayor tranquilidad, y lejos de hacer sufrir a los demás les deleita y encanta.
>
> Esto prueba una vez más lo falso de aquella repetida sentencia de que el arte es imitación de la Naturaleza. ¿Qué gusto, por ejemplo, había de tener nadie, por malos hígados que tuviese, en ver morir en una tragedia como Hamlet a todos los personajes, hasta el extremo de que haya de venir un príncipe viajero a pronunciar la moraleja en medio de tan espantosa carnicería? Y sin embargo, el Hamlet gusta. Luego gusta porque no hay tal imitación de la Naturaleza, porque ni durante medio minuto se figura ningún espectador que aquello es verdad, pues si se lo figurase, pasaría un rato amarguísimo, o, por lo menos, tendría una desazón tamaña, como no estuviese su alma más seca que un esparto.
>
> El temor y la compasión estéticos infunden deleite. Luego son algo muy distinto del temor y de la compasión reales (OC, II, 462).

The second, which reiterates the first point more precisely, is that the tragic seriousness which accompanies the experience of pessimism should be absent from its depiction in literature. Despair and rebelliousness should be replaced by the wry humour with which a model Christian would face his own doubt. In short, Valera wished pessimism to be treated as if ultimately it were not to be accorded credibility. This would prevent it becoming the destructive force it could be as a real attitude of mind and stop it posing any real challenge to established morality:

> Seamos optimistas y pesimistas alternativamente. Las cosas, aunque no crea uno en el determinismo feroz que nos arrastra al vicio

> y hasta al crimen, y aunque no vea uno siempre desolación en torno suyo, no están por eso todo lo bien que sería de desear. Confesémoslo, pero no nos afligimos a los demás hombres con nuestros quejidos y aullos. Conviene, pues, para esto, que nuestro pesimismo, en vez de ser trágico, sea chistoso y cómico; como el pesimismo de Voltaire, que en el Cándido hace que nos desternillemos de risa, o, mejor aun, como el de Cervantes, más gracioso todavía en el Quijote, y lleno de dulzura y de cristiana resignación, sin chispa de hiel ni de impiedad ni de odio . . . El pesimismo se expresa [en éstas y otras obras] con tanto chiste y gracejo, que regocija, en vez de desesperar, y hasta se le antoja a quien lee o recita aquellas blasfemias, no ya que él debe perdonarlas propter elegantium sermonis, sino que hasta la soberana Potestad, a quien se dirigen, en vez de castigarlas, las celebra y las ríe (OC, II, 832-33).

Valera's code of aesthetic practice could be defined, then, as a campaign waged against the permeation of literature by a challenge to established morality. This he carried out under the auspices of a defence of pure art based on appeals to what were apparently aesthetic absolutes. In Valera's hands, however, these absolutes undergo a transformation which makes them inseparable from what his moral standpoint demanded of art. In the defence of his cause, Valera handled reasoning pragmatically. Indeed, he had to, since he realised, as the last quotation reveals, that the pessimism he was attempting to combat was not without foundation. To simply dismiss it without good reason and expect to be taken seriously was a luxury he could not permit himself.

3. Tactical misrepresentations

Valera rarely discussed aesthetics in isolation. More often than not, the context in which he raised issues of this kind began with adverse reaction on his part to what he considered

a subversive vein in the work of one particular author. This tendency is reflected in the scope of the themes he discussed: the relationship between art and morality, the nature of beauty and aesthetic pleasure, the conditions necessary for acceptable art, and the strategies by which these might be achieved. Valera saw Baudelaire above all as a representative of a subversive moral outlook in literature, so it is not surprising that his discussion of the poet followed this pattern. This is clearly true of the article, published in 1891, in which Valera penned his most elaborate evocation of what the poet stood for in his eyes. It bears the title 'Disonancias y armonías de la moral y de la estética'. As for the critic's presentation of Baudelaire, it comprises a singularly venomous pen-portrait which catalogues the whole range of vices and defects which, according to the Spaniard, the French poet had to answer for. Valera saw Maurice Rollinat, author of Les Névroses and L'Abîme, as cast in the same mould as Baudelaire, which explains why they appeared together in the role of the accused:

> Los poetas crapulosos, como Baudelaire y Rollinat, se hartan y se hastian de sus goces; sienten aspiraciones infinitas, hundidos ya en el fango, y después de haber renegado de Dios; y aquí te quiero, escopeta. Cada uno de ellos parece un energúmeno. Sus versos son pesadillas de un ascetismo bastardo y sin esperanza. Obsesos por el demonio del remordimiento y por otros demonios más feos y tiznados, rompen en maldiciones y blasfemias inauditas. Ya nos aseguran que no hay crimen que no sean capaces de perpetrar, ya se encomiendan devotamente a Lucifer, ya aseguran que quieren imitar a Cristo, si bien suponiendo que lo que Cristo prescribe y recomienda con el ejemplo es que nos matemos. La muerte es la única redención posible. Además, ellos entienden que deben matarse en castigo de sus culpas.
>
> Va, que la mort soit ton refuge!
> a l'exemple du Rédempteur,

> ose à la fois être le juge,
> la victime et l'exécuteur.
>
> . . . Las visiones de Baudelaire y de Rollinat espeluznan y descomponen el estómago; dan horror y asco: es menester ser valientes y robustos para resistirlas sin vomitar o sin caer desmayado. Los suplicios más feroces que ve Dante en su Infierno, las abominaciones y espanto de los más ascéticos libros cristianos . . . son niñerías y amenidades, si se comparan con lo que Baudelaire refiere cuando él mismo se ve ahorcado, podrido y hediondo, entre una nube de murciélagos y de grajos que le sacan los ojos a mordiscos y picotazos y se le comen por do más pecado había, y con lo que cuenta Rollinat de aquel gato celoso, que yo sospecho que era un demonio familiar, el cual araña y destroza a su amiga en sitios tan sensibles y ocultos (OC, II, 831-32).

Valera's description is nothing if not dramatic. His indignation almost reaches the point of frenzy in this remorseless denunciation of two poets whom he considered to be Satan-worshipping moral renegades, consumed to the point of perversion by a sense of guilt and consciousness of sin, obsessed by a desire for self-annihilation, and driven, by an inner torment oscillating between exasperation and abject despair, to utter the most repulsive abominations ever to outrage an honest, clean-living citizen of Christendom. To a posterity accustomed to seeing Baudelaire as an innovator often misunderstood and maligned by many of his contemporaries and immediate successors, Valera's description may seem somewhat misguided. So must the totally negative motives behind the emphasis accorded to three aspects of Baudelaire's poetry: an obsession with sin, diabolism and a profound sense of spiritual disquiet. Valera's partiality, however, is not surprising. All these aspects are, of course, symptomatic of the negative pessimism which of all the subject-matter Valera deemed to be anti-aesthetic engendered the greatest cause for concern

and against which he directed the major part of his critical offensive. Indeed, it is this attitude which provides the most logical explanation for a number of misrepresentations present in the above quotation. This is exemplified in Valera's reference to a poem which is clearly identifiable as 'Un Voyage à Cythère' (CC, 122). It is quite possible that his failure to mention the title was the result of more than just an oversight or lapse of memory. The summary of the poem which he provided leaves no doubt that he wished to create an unfavourable impression in his readers' minds regarding Baudelaire's poetry. By omitting to mention its title, and avoiding quoting directly from it, Valera removed from his presentation of the poem two elements that could have acted as invitations or incentives to a reader to verify the validity and justifiability of the critic's interpretation of it. As it stands, then, he offered the reader no more than a résumé influenced radically by his own prejudices regarding Baudelaire.

Valera's aim was to accord disproportionate emphasis to the offensive potential of the poem, and he set about achieving this by two manoeuvres. Firstly, he discussed only those verses in which the element most likely to be deemed offensive - the avid destruction of the corpse by scavenging beasts - is most vividly expressed. Secondly, he overplayed the representative value of the poem, creating the impression that in 'Un Voyage à Cythère', the poet had been concerned entirely with elaborating an extended metaphor for his fixation with the wages of sin, and constructing it from images as horrible as his own obsession was terrifying. If we proceed to examine in more detail how the critic executed these manoeuvres, we find that the first

involved referring exclusively to the part of the poem in which the fate and state of the corpse is described. One aspect of this which merits brief mention is the number of factual inaccuracies committed by Valera when he evoked the scene. He speaks of bats and crows swarming about the corpse, but in the original there are no bats, and crows are only mentioned, once the gory meal, the participants in which are unspecified birds and four-legged animals, has ceased to be the focus of depiction. Such deviations from the facts are, it must be admitted, relatively inconsequential, since they do not substantially distort the content in such a way as to alter the meaning of the poem. Nevertheless, they do reflect the critic's special interest in one particularly gruesome scene from the poem and the impact on his own moral sense of the perverse and morbid imagination which conceived it. The result of this reaction was that Valera reduced his perception of the poem to one particularly violent image. For a reader of Valera's article who lacked the curiosity to consult Les Fleurs du Mal subsequently, this perspective would have constituted the sum total of their understanding of the content of 'Un Voyage à Cythère'. This somewhat misleading presentation of the facts provided the base on which Valera carried out the second stage of his manipulatory operation. This concerned the poem's function. When the critic wrote 'Baudelaire . . . se ve ahorcado, podrido y hediondo' (my italics), he clearly accorded a representational role to the aspect of the poem's content which he had highlighted. The rotting corpse, Valera's phrase implies, was a metaphor for the poet's own condition. This is not untrue, as the lines 'Dans ton île, ô Vénus! je n'ai

trouvé debout / Qu'un gibet symbolique où pendait mon image' show. Yet because the critic drew attention only to one particular scene from the poem and focused exclusively on its shock-value, excessive emphasis was conceded to Baudelaire's obsession with the wages of sin and the rewards of his own waywardness, as well as to the choice of singularly distasteful images by which this complex might be communicated. If Valera's description of 'Un Voyage à Cythère' is compared with the poem itself, it soon becomes apparent that the perspective from which the critic assessed it was far from neutral. The ravaged and rotting corpse is, admittedly, the dominant image of 'Un Voyage à Cythère', but Valera's presentation caused it to appear altogether more sinister, by isolating it from its context and evoking it in his own, loaded, terms. His treatment of the content, as well as the meaning he attributed to the poem, clearly reflect Valera's aversion to both poem and poet, and express an attempt on the part of the critic to exploit the part of the poem whence this response originated for his own partisan ends. Valera's attitude provides the most plausible explanation for the degree of misrepresentation for which he was responsible. His suggestion, for example, that the corpse described in the poem is that of the poet himself, seen as if in a vision, is not strictly accurate. Here, Valera was perhaps rather too prepared to accept the possible interpretation of 'Mon image' as a synonym of 'moi - même', and to seize upon the opportunity to use this in his résumé. Admittedly, 'Un Voyage à Cythère' does lend itself quite readily to be interpreted as a metaphor for Baudelaire's experience of sexual love.

The protagonist-narrator sets sail for Venus's isle and is confronted with the opposite of what he anticipated, just as, one may surmise, the young poet had set out optimistically and enthusiastically in pursuit of carnal gratification, only to discover, once he had indulged his appetites, that hedonism has its terrible price. It has even been argued that the poem originated in Baudelaire's anguished awareness of his own syphilitic condition (12). Yet nowhere in it is it unequivocally stated that the poet was conscious of being confronted with his own body. The metaphorical value of the image of the corpse cannot be denied, yet it is presented as a symbolic construct, within a fictional narrative framework, with which the poet identifies, and not a self-image in the literal sense of the term. By suggesting that the latter was indeed the case, Valera no doubt wished to exaggerate the unsavoury aspects of the poem. This is also true of what he interpreted its significance to be. While it would be wrong to deny that the poem entailed some reflection by the poet on the fate which lust had led him to merit, it is equally only fair to recognise that Baudelaire's horrific insight into his own physical and spiritual condition is more sober, and sobering, than the critic's summary of the poem makes out. The Frenchman showed no inclination to delight in or indulge a fascination with the material from which he composed the shocking symbolic scene. Although 'Un Voyage à Cythère' may be understood to refer to the sexual origins of the poet's misfortunes - 'Et ses bourreaux, gorgés de hideuses délices,/L'avaient à coups de bec absolument châtré' -, Valera clearly desired this to be the only reading possible when he spoke of the birds scavenging the part of the

anatomy 'do más pecado había'. This is a reading-in on the part of Valera, who was attempting to mislead. One does not have to find in the poem the degree of horror and exasperation that the critic suggested. Indeed, the verses which express the poet-narrator's reaction to the corpse do not find their author drunk with perverse delight at the horrors he has conjured up. Rather, they are infused with tragic compassion for the ravaged entity who reflects so poignantly the poet's own condition:

> Habitant de Cythère, enfant d'un ciel si beau,
> Silencieusement tu souffrais ces insultes
> En expiation de tes infâmes cultes
> Et des péchés qui t'ont interdit le tombeau.

Elsewhere in the portrait of Baudelaire, Valera responded in precisely the same way to the poet's obsession with self-destruction. The death-wish is accounted for purely in terms of a fate which Baudelaire is said to have believed he deserved for his sins. Yet one only has to consider, for example, 'Le Mort joyeux' (OC, 83) and 'Le Goût du néant' (OC, 90), in which death is quite clearly presented as a welcome release from the torments of existence and not as a self-imposed punishment for transgressions, to realise that the critic was offering an incomplete and unsatisfactory account of this theme in Les Fleurs du Mal. His explanation of it was based solely on a desire to reinforce the impression that Baudelaire was the victim of a morbid sense of self-disgust which had no place in literature.

Valera, then, used 'Un Voyage à Cythère' to suggest that in Baudelaire's poetry in general, the expression of pessimism, despair or other negative states of mind always went hand in hand

with distressing or repellent subject-matter. Consequently, he implied, the depiction of such insight was never infused with a sense of serenity or resignation, but charged with torment, rage, exasperation, abject dejection, terror, perversity or sentiments of a similarly ungratifying nature. This, of course, made it possible to claim that the fundamental requirement of 'recato' had not been fulfilled. By suggesting that Baudelaire's poetry was dominated by offensive material, the critic implied that it totally contravened the conditions he specified for acceptable art. Valera's assessment of the impact of Baudelaire's poetry, however, went beyond simply alluding to examples of subject-matter which he deemed to be distasteful. He was quite prepared to abandon any reference to the content of the poems themselves and discuss them purely in terms of the reaction of repulsion, disgust or shock, which he declared a reader would inevitably experience when confronted with such atrocities. That Valera was prepared to reduce the appreciation of poetry to the effect he blindly insisted it would have, provides a revealing indication of the lengths to which he was willing to go in his use of literary criticism as a weapon of ideology.

4. 'La farsa tenaz': a charge of premeditation

Valera laid great stress upon the capacity of Baudelaire's poetry to offend the moral sensibility of the reader. Rather than suggesting that this was the result of some accident of sensibility, by which the poet was driven to depict his melancholy in somewhat unsavoury terms, however, Valera thrust full responsibility for this state of affairs upon Baudelaire himself. The critic suggested that Baudelaire was driven by a desperate

desire to be original at all costs, and so wrote in the way he did quite intentionally, for effect:

> Yo comprendo a Baudelaire, y en cierto modo le admiro, aunque me disgusta. En su inspiración depravada, sombría y terrible, hay algo de verdad, aunque exagerada por la farsa tenaz que el mismo se impuso para ser más original, para asustar al linaje humano y para contristar y meter en un puño el corazón de cada burgués honrado y sencillote, en cuyas manos cayesen sus Flores del mal (OC, II, 829).

Behind the façade of indulgence and tolerant understanding with which this quotation opens lies total condemnation. For poetry to be offensive was itself in direct contravention of all the precepts which Valera set down regarding the purpose and function of art and the nature of beauty. But for a writer to wilfully and intentionally set out with the aim of harassing the reader's moral consciousness could be no less than an attempt to purposefully flout such requirements. This implicit accusation is accompanied by a more explicit charge, by which Valera attempted to reduce the credibility which the reader might attribute to Baudelaire's pessimistic world-view. This comprised the suggestion that the poet, in his quest for effect, exaggerated the gravity and horror of his anguish. The critic argued that although the poet's insight contained an element of truth, this was distorted so much in its poetic expression that it took on an unnecessarily unpalatable form. This, Valera implied, need not have been the case, had Baudelaire shown a greater respect for universal aesthetic considerations when using this kind of subject-matter. The critic consistently strove to dilute the effective potential which he feared Baudelairian pessimism embodied, questioning the lesson it imparted. On another occasion, he suggested that while

it was an authentic attitude, it was quite pointless to be led to extremes of turpitude by it. It was clear from the poet's lamentations, he reasoned, that there was little benefit to be gained from so doing. Precisely because of this, he concluded, there was little likelihood that Les Fleurs du Mal would persuade any of its readers to follow the same path as its author. One of the extremes to which Valera referred on this occasion was the poet's satanism. As such, this instance constitutes one example of how the image of Baudelaire which Valera presented contributed to the disproportionate significance which Spanish writers and critics in general attached to this aspect:

> Carlos Baudelaire es, sin duda, uno de los más endiablados poetas que en estos últimos tiempos ha nacido de madre. En cuerpo y alma, y sin la menor reserva, se entrega al demonio. Le reza muy devotas letanías y le pide favor y auxilio. Si el demonio se condujera generosa y decentemente haciendo dichoso a Baudelaire, Las Flores del mal que así se titula el tomo de sus versos, serían muy peligrosas, pues no habría falta de quien quisiese entregarse también al demonio dándole culto para conseguir las mismas o mayores ventajas. Afortunadamente ocurre todo lo contrario. Baudelaire es el autontimoroúmenos por excelencia, el rigor de las desdichas, el que se castiga y atormenta a sí propio como el más cruel de los fákires de la India. No bastándole ser él su verdugo, acude al demonio y se vale de él para inspirador y colaborador de los refinados y espeluznantes suplicios a que se condena y se somete. ¿Quién, por tanto, ha de querer endiablarse como Baudelaire para ser tan horriblemente desgraciado? Las flores del mal son, pues, muy moralizadoras: son un veneno, pero saludable veneno tomado como revulsivo (OC, II, 995).

Another illustration of the same tactic finds Valera challenging the notion that spiritual torment is a necessary condition of the psychology of the man of genius:

> Para mí no es, o más bien no debe ser, el genio inseparable compañero de la desventura: no debe

> proceder, y rara vez procede, del desequilibrio insano de las facultades humanas, sino más bien de su armonioso y feliz equilibrio. Es falsa la imagen del Albatros con que Baudelaire, imitado por el señor Alcover en su composición Beethoven, representa al hombre de genio. Casi nunca es éste a modo de pájaro cuyas pujantes alas le pesan y estorban cuando cae en tierra y hacen de él triste objeto de la mofa y del escarnio de la vil muchedumbre. . . . [Q]uien tiene alas poderosas para elevarse á las alturas, rara vez carece de bríos, de agilidad y de maña para moverse holgadamente por tierra y para descollar entre sus semejantes, ganarles la voluntad y dominarlos. No quiero yo convenir en que Dios o la naturaleza conceda el genio a costa de la dicha, ni en que sea el genio algo a modo de enfermedad, locura, o torpeza que incapacite al hombre para todo lo práctico de la vida (OC, II, 1068).

The contradiction existing between 'es' and 'debe ser' in the opening line of this quotation is symptomatic of a conflict between Valera's fundamental desire to dismiss any absolute value that might be attributed to the association of genius and spiritual disquiet and an inability to deny that the idea could be true, at least in certain cases. The problem is resolved by a convenient compromise: even if malaise is an authentic state of mind it should not be allowed to motivate art. A tension between the verdict Valera would have wished to be able to reach regarding the object of his attack and a reluctant acknowledgement that it did embody a degree of truth can be seen in all of the three preceding quotations. In each case, however, the compromise by which the tension is resolved involved Valera yielding as little ground as possible. While conceding the authenticity of his opponent's insight, he always found in the manner of its expression some deviation from acceptability, which allowed him to make his point that an aesthetic which permitted such a thing must be wrongly conceived.

5. The pragmatics of sincerity

The strategy employed by Valera in the war of criticism which he waged against Baudelaire displayed consistency not only in the method applied, but also in the charge levelled against the poet in the attempt to discredit his work. The accusation which the critic reiterated time after time was that Baudelaire was not being sincere when he bemoaned la condition humaine and celebrated vice. In the following example of this, the subject of discussion is the subject-matter of the poetry of Baudelaire and Maurice Rollinat, who once again featured as the partner in crime of his more famous compatriot:

> Si tamañas desventuras se tomasen por lo serio sería cosa de deshacerse en un mar de lágrimas, de morirse de pena y de terror entre convulsiones horribles, y de aborrecer toda vida, y más que ninguna la sardanapalesca, a que se entregaron estos vates ilustres, y cuyos funestos resultados estamas tocando.
>
> Por dicha, yo me consuelo y tranquilizo con sospechar que, tanto en el sardanapalesco, como en el lloriqueo, tanto en las culpas como en los castigos, hay abundancia de filfa y camelo. Ni se divierte uno tanto como dice, ni suele exclamar de corazón ¡qué tétrica es la vida!, después de haberse divertido.
>
> En ambós extremos hay ponderación jactanciosa: pose y blague. Lo peor es el pesimismo. Si se adopta para hacer efecto y darse charol, no tiene perdón de Dios.
>
> ¿Por qué en odas, en elegías, en coplas, en dramas, en novelas y aun en gruesos librotes de filosofía, hemos de angustiar a los mortales y quedarnos tan frescos?

Initially, Valera appears to be making a straightforward claim that the two poets exaggerated both their pessimism and their delight in sin. The wisdom of taking this accusation at face value becomes questionable, however, when the grounds upon which it is made are examined more closely. The critic's reasoning

is suspiciously subjective. The basis for his claim is a mere assumption, motivated, moreover, by psychological expediency: '[Y]o me consuelo y tranquilizo con sospechar que . . . ' (my italics). One has the impression that it was engendered more by a need to believe that the poets were not being entirely truthful than an actual conviction that this was indeed the case. An explanation of why the critic felt such a desire is to be found in the opening lines of the quotation. Here, allusion is made to the devastating impact that so pessimistic an interpretation of existence would have if it were taken seriously, that is, if it were seen as a sincere representation of truths about human existence. Valera's aim was clearly that this should not happen, and the accusation of insincerity which followed was the most suitable expedient by which to secure this objective. Simply to dismiss as untrue the threatening and disturbing visions which the poets projected in their works was an effective psychological mechanism by which to avoid or overcome the force of their moral impact.

What is interesting is that Valera continued to level this charge as if he meant it literally, quite in spite of the fact that the grounds which he invoked to uphold it were insufficient to support such a claim. The critic was able to do so through a skilful piece of semantic manipulation which involved not only exploiting the true significance of the terms 'sincerity' and 'insincerity', but also applying them to concepts of quite a different order. This operation began when Valera introduced the notion of insincerity as a means of rationalising his emotional reaction to the poetry of Baudelaire and Rollinat. The critic intended the term to be taken literally, although,

as we have seen, he lacked the grounds on which to justify such a move. What, indeed, he applied it to was not something that he knew to merit such a qualification, but that he wished to consider as doing so: the excesses in his aesthetic adversaries' work which he found offensive. This can be proven by his declaration in the quotation that the most intolerable exaggerations for which the poets were responsible involved his bête noire, pessimism: '[L]o peor es el pesimismo'. Indeed, the critic only ever broached the question of insincerity when discussing literature which could be classified as offensive and unaesthetic according to the standards he demanded of art. By then treating insincerity as an established fact, he was able to reinforce the association he had established between it and the presence of offensive material. The former, he implied, made the latter inevitable, since the nature of the exaggeration which it involved would result in bringing to the surface of the work of art the unaesthetic qualities latent in all morally dubious subject-matter. Valera's reasoning in this respect ultimately had the advantage of enabling any piece of literature which was deemed offensive to be classified, and therefore dismissed, as insincere. By extension the converse also becomes true. Sincerity is equated with respect for the requirements prescribed for acceptable art, and therefore becomes an indispensable prerequisite for true beauty.

This explanation of the specific connotations which the critic added to the terms 'sincerity' and 'insincerity', and the potential consequences of so doing, are corroborated on a number of other occasions. In an article entitled 'La moral en el arte' published in 1896, sincerity is identified as an essential component of artistic beauty:

> No hay, pues, ni puede haber discrepancia, a no ser superficial, entre la moral y la estética, entre el bien y la hermosura. Lo bueno y lo hermoso coinciden al llegar a cierta altura y se confunden en uno. Y como, a mi ver, la sinceridad es requisito indispensable en toda poesía que merezca tal nombre, esta misma poesía da testimonio fehaciente del valer moral del poeta (OC, II, 911).

To say that sincerity testifies to the moral standing of the poet was, here, no mere platitude extolling the virtues of telling the truth, but an equation of the term with a form of expression which in acceptable art would render the laudable qualities ('lo bueno y lo hermoso') clearly visible and undistorted. So while in a broad sense it retained its literal meaning of faithfulness in representation, more precisely it becomes synonymous with a process of purification of content through appropriate expression in order that the former might show its most noble profile to the reader. This definition of sincerity was, in a manner of speaking, a veiled warning that all content should be refined in this way, so that at best its innate morality would shine more brightly and at worst its immoral aspects would be rendered inoffensive to the reader's moral sense. Precisely the same point was made in the same essay with reference to Baudelaire himself:

> Como quiera que sea, el primer precepto de toda arte poética debiera ser esta discreta frase de maese Pedro: Muchacho, no te encumbres, que toda afectación es mala.
> En mi sentir, tan perverso y tan insufrible es Baudelaire componiendo su letanía diabólica y otras lindezas de las Flores del mal, como no pocos poetas, que andan por ahí presumiendo de religiosos y de moralistas, y que escriben, sin pizca de verdadero sentimiento, odas a Dios, a la virtud y a la vida monástica, o narraciones y dramas de severa moralidad aparente, cuyos personajes no pueden menos de ser contrahechos, monstruosos, cursis, y como en la vida real no se estilan ni se estilaron nunca - En cambio, en todo poeta sincero, si es verdadero poeta,

> resplandece la bondad y se manifiesta en la belleza que ha creado. Y cuando se examina y analiza cuidadosamente, se nota que la belleza que admiramos está en la expresión y manifestación de la bondad, y no en los errores y en los extravíos que por otra parte puede poner el poeta en su obra y tener en sí, como los tiene todo sér humano (OC, II, 910-11).

Although at the outset the term 'affectation' appears to be used quite literally to mean the misrepresentation or distortion of a true state of mind, or even straightforward pretence, it is quickly modified to become something in which 'resplandece la bondad [la cual] se manifiesta en la belleza que ha creado [el poeta sincero]'. Once again, Valera obliged the meaning of sincerity to coincide with a sense of aesthetic propriety by which all offensiveness was extirpated from the work of art. Indeed, Valera went on to say that truly sincere art should embody goodness to the extent that it was purged of 'errores' and 'extravíos', which is perhaps one of the clearest indications to be found in his critical writings, that although he condoned depiction of dubious subject-matter as long as the tone of its presentation was innocuous, he would have rather it had not made an appearance at all. At other times, however, it suited the critic to indulge literary pessimism. Two such occasions provide informative illustrations not only of what Valera meant precisely by sincerity, especially in respect of morally suspect themes, but also exactly where he considered Baudelaire to fall short of meeting this requirement. On each occasion the French poet was compared unfavourably with others who had handled expression of their pessimism with the 'recato' which Valera expected of the true artist. The first occurred in the essay 'El superhombre', dated 1897:

> Yo, al menos, no puedo conciliar que Bartrina se parezca al mismo tiempo, al sencillo, elegante, sincero y clásico Leopardi y al afectadísimo, falso y extravagante Baudelaire. En el único predicamento en que pueden entrar a la vez los tres poetas es en el de ser los tres incrédulos, enfermizos, tristes y desesperados. En todo lo demás se diferencian muchísimo. Y, si hemos de hablar con franqueza, así Baudelaire como Bartrina se quedan muy por bajo a infinita distancia de Leopardi, uno de los más admirables poetas líricos que ha habido en Europa en el siglo presente, tan glorioso y fecundo es su género de poesía (OC, II, 934).

The second came from an article entitled 'La poesía lírica y épica en la España del siglo XIX:

> Sin afectación, sin farsa, sin pose, como Baudelaire, como el mismo Víctor Hugo y otros romanticos franceses, sino con asombroso candor y natural sencillez, Zorrilla no sólo siente dentro de su propio sér el numen, el demonio, el espíritu que le infunde extraños pensamientos y que desata luego su lengua en inauditos y melodiosos cantos, sino que se nos muestra circundado de visiones, fantasmas, vestiglos, ángeles y diablos, que ora le exaltan, ora le atormentan, ora le deleitan, ora le aterran (OC, II, 1205).

The equation which Valera established on both these occasions between sincerity and simplicity, elegance and even a certain candour, provides an enlightening illustration of what the critic meant by 'recato' in practical terms and how he wished his stipulations regarding the tone of a work of art, as he called it, to be implemented. Baudelaire's insincerity, according to this yardstick, lay in his failure to comply with Valera's attempts to render art innocuous.

6. Baudelaire, poet of Naturalism

For the modern student of nineteenth-century literary movements, one of the most contradictory aspects of Valera's critical

reaction to Baudelaire must be his association of the poet, a self-confessed anti-realist, with the Naturalist movement. Admittedly, the connection is only implied, since the term was actually applied to Rollinat: ' [T]odos los naturalistas, ya escriben en prosa, ya en verso: lo mismo en Zola que en Rollinat' (CC, II, 827). Nevertheless, this quotation appears in the same article from 1891 in which Baudelaire and Rollinat were presented as tarred with exactly the same brush. The contradiction is resolved if one considers that what the critic objected to in both writers was the excessive attention which they accorded to subject-matter or themes which he deemed to be unaesthetic unless approached in the right way. For Valera, then, they were both guilty of excessive realism. They were exponents of mimetic art as the critic understood it, following nature too closely to avoid including those aspects of their inner lives which might make less than suitable material for 'amena literatura'.

The affiliation of Baudelaire to Naturalism is an ingredient of the apparent paradox which runs through Valera's critical response to the French poet. To accuse Baudelaire of depicting certain unpalatable truths too faithfully could hardly be said to advance the cause of the critic's claim that the poet was insincere. Of course, this paradox may not be real. It could be argued that the critic was merely modifying his accusation, and suggesting that the horrors Baudelaire depicted were too real to be authentic experiences. Yet to reason in this way would be to miss the point that such paradoxes are inevitable. The mind which was responsible for creating them was motivated by the desire to uphold a cause and to win moral victories over its opponents, and the need for effective strategies designed to attain such objectives

would concern it more than would the pursuit of harmonious global interpretation of the subject's work. Indeed, the methods Valera employed were bound to engender a degree of at least apparent contradiction, for the critic often introduced terms of contrasting meaning into the same area of debate, and invoked their literal connotations in the cause of concepts semantically unrelated to them.

7. A broader perspective

There is evidence that in his condemnation of Baudelaire, Valera saw the poet not only as an individual writer but as a representative of French literature in general. On occasions the critic expressed clear reservations regarding the directions which the Gallic soul had led French writers to take, and manifested a singular reluctance that their Spanish peers should be tempted to follow the same path. The possibility that Valera considered Baudelaire to be typical in this respect can be entertained on the basis of an article dedicated to Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, dated 1887. Here, Valera attempted to account for the predominance of sincerity or insincerity in art, in the sense in which he understood these qualities, in terms of national temperament and cultural development:

> Y, en general, se nos antoja que en lo natural y espontáneo tienen más de divino nuestros poetas que los franceses; mientras que en lo artificial y precioso, fruto de mejor educación literaria y de más refinada cultura, los poetas franceses nos vencen, y rara vez llegan a ser tan pueriles, vacíos y palabreros como nosotros.
>
> En la sinceridad también llevamos ventaja a los franceses, porque el poeta español es menos poeta de oficio [debido a la relativa escasez de público] . Un Baudelaire, un Richepin y un Rollinat, son en España casi imposibles. Como chistes de pésimo gusto, como brutales

> facecias, en un momento de borrachera o de libertinaje, se dirán en España no menores blasfemias. [Aquí se cita el ejemplo de Espronceda.]
>
> Lo que no se le ha ocurrido a nadie en España es la persistencia en broma de tan mal carácter, consagrando a ella la vida, como si fuera serio y sentido todo. La blague triste, la pose pesada, de Baudelaire, no se da entre nosotros. ¿Iremos a tomar por lo serio esta blague y esta pose?
>
> Conviene distinguir lo que es maña e ingeniatura de lo que es sincero y verídico. Al distinguirlo, no inferimos grande ofensa al valer moral del autor. El fanfarrón acaba por creer en su propia habladuría (OC, II, 609).

The line between tempered admiration and veiled criticism is very thin in this quotation. The belief that the extravagances of French writers could never occur in Spain is yet another implicit warning that they should not be allowed to do so. For them to do so would go against the grain of Spanish national character, and would as such constitute a betrayal or an insincerity towards one's native soul. On another occasion, Valera attempted to discourage the permeation of Spanish literature by French influences by arguing that to succumb to the unqualified admiration that French culture could inspire in foreigners would lead to servile and uncritical imitation of its worst aspects; so to resist its seductive, yet destructive, powers was to serve the cause of national spiritual integrity:

> Yo convengo y he convenido siempre en que Francia posee amena y riquísima literatura, y en que es fecunda y dichosa madre de originales y elegantes escritores, cuyas obras son acaso las más leídas y celebradas en los países extrafios, por donde el pensamiento y el idioma y hasta el sentir de los franceses se imponen y predominan entre los otros pueblos. Pero esta hegemonía de Francia en letras y en artes, no sólo da a Francia entre los extranjeros fundadísimo crédito sino también prestigio deslumbrador, que los solicita y estimula a la admiración

> más ciega, a los encomios más hiperbólicos y muy a menudo a la desmañada imitación de lo peor, originando modas en lo que se escribe y en lo que se piensa, como las hay en lo que se viste y en el menaje de las casas. Contra esto importa precaverse y estar sobre aviso (CC, II, 934).

Valera was not, however, insensitive to the rather more positive reception extended to the new French literature by the emergent generation of Spanish poets, the young modernistas, as the following quotation from an article written somewhat later in the critic's literary career illustrates:

> Yo estoy viejísimo, ciego, y atormentado por mil achaques y dolencias que me tienen muy retraído de la vida intelectual y muy atrasado de noticias. Mc he quedado en Víctor Hugo, Lamartine, Béranger y Teófilo Gautier. Algo ha llegado hasta mí de Baudelaire y de Rollinat, que me han parecido dos fastidiosos y estrafalarias caricaturas. De lo que ha venido después, apenas tengo vagas ideas. He oído campanas y no sé dónde. Medio sé o sospecho que en Francia, cuyas modas seguimos hoy más que nunca, hay poetas que llaman modernistas, parnasianos, decadentes, estetas, simbólicos, funambólicos y no sé cuántos dictados más, que influyen bastante en nuestra poesía novísima y más, aún que en la de los españoles peninsulares en la de los vates hispano-americanos (CC, II, 988).

It is interesting to note here that Valera was as conscious of the literary generation gap existing between Baudelaire and 'lo que ha venido después', as the modernistas were themselves, even if on this occasion he did not express the distinction in terms quite as discriminating as they did.

8. Conclusion

How, in the final instance, should Valera's critical response to Baudelaire be interpreted? From what reference points should it be viewed if the true extent of the critic's severity is to be

assessed, and put into a fair perspective? There can be no doubt regarding the partiality of the image of Baudelaire upon which Valera's reaction was based, nor that the critic's response was coloured by an unfavourable predisposition towards the poet. In his eyes, Baudelaire meant only three things: Satanism, the celebration of vice and perversity, and the depiction of unpalatable realities magnified out of all proportion. Nevertheless, one should perhaps beware of being led to consider Valera's attitudes purely as the exaggerations of a fanatical and intransigent traditionalist. However much his response differs from contemporary opinion regarding Baudelaire, which is likely to be relatively indulgent even in its least generous moments, it is wise to bear in mind that the critic's reaction is not extraordinary in a man of his time and cultural background. Indeed, one would do well to recall, when attempting to explain the severity of the critic's response, that his indignation directed exclusively against specific aspects of Baudelaire's work he chose to highlight, and his consequent attempt to discredit the poet's moral attitude, were not at all out of keeping with establishment critical reaction to Baudelaire in France itself, both during his lifetime and after. The corresponding body of opinion in Spain was even more conscious of the poet's work as a subversive force, a threat to traditional values, and had been alert to resurgences of divergent thought expressed in art since much earlier in the century. The use of criticism as an ideological weapon was for these traditionalists an automatic response. It was the critic himself who said, in respect of Naturalism, 'No me hubiera detenido tanto si . . . no viese yo en estos extravíos el resultado de malas teorías estéticas y de una escuela de moda que es menester

combatir' (OC, II, 827), and perhaps this statement is the best explanation, if not in some ways a justification, of how Valera saw Baudelaire and why he treated him as he did.

III. LEOPOLDO ALAS, POLEMICIST OF EQUANIMITY

Orthodox critical reaction to Baudelaire would have been exclusively and unanimously hostile had it not been for one significant exception. In 1887, La Ilustración Ibérica published a series of seven essays on the French poet by the critic Leopoldo Alas, Clarín. Their author displayed an attitude to the poet quite different from that of the other traditionalist critics examined so far. Clarín shared with the traditionalists their Catholic faith and the natural alienation they felt from Baudelairian aesthetics and sensibility, but was endowed with sufficient fairness of mind to see that the harsh censure of which Baudelaire had been a victim was not always deserved, and certainly not justifiable. He was also less disposed than some of his fellow-critics to prostitute his critical ethics in the cause of partisan sentiments. At the same time, it would hardly be correct to say that his study of the poet, which was reprinted in his book of critical essays Mezclilla (1889), was positively sympathetic towards Baudelaire. It was, in reality, an enterprise of a somewhat ambivalent nature. In spite of the fact that it bore the title 'Baudelaire', it was as much an attack on existing critical approaches and an attempt to formulate and implement a much more just system of literary appreciation as it was a study of the poet's work itself. One might even go as far as to say that although the essay ostensibly proposed to undertake a more charitable revaluation of Baudelaire, the poet featured largely

in an incidental capacity.

The comprehensive analysis of the essay's undeniable significance for understanding Clarín's critical philosophy, carried out by Josette Blanquat in her article 'Clarín et Baudelaire', published in the Revue de Littérature Compareé (1959), makes further discussion of this aspect otiose. The same article also examines in detail the case put by Clarín in Baudelaire's favour, and also summarises the components of the image of the poet which Clarín presented during the course of his seven-part reassessment. Some room for discussion does remain, however, with regard to these last two aspects, since Josette Blanquat does not explore them exhaustively. Although 'Clarín et Baudelaire' furnishes a clear impression of the spirit in which Clarín undertook to write his study of Baudelaire, rather less attention is given to considering the critic's attitude to the poet, how it differed from that upheld by other bodies of critical opinion, and its influence on the image of the poet presented in the study. It is to these considerations which we will now turn our attention. In the first instance, some thought must be given to the critical motives behind the essay, for these are a source of valuable information regarding the extent to which the critic was actually interested in Baudelaire himself.

1. La hermosa y grande caridad del arte

In the pages which follow, identification of the source of quotations has been limited to the particular chapter of the seven from which each quotation has been drawn. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that Clarín's motives were not related purely and exclusively to an interest in Baudelaire. It was,

on the contrary, the unjust treatment that the poet had received at the hands of the French critic Fernand Brunetière which spurred Clarín to compose the article. One particular article by the Frenchman, the deprecatory tone of which surpassed all previous attempts to denigrate the poet, provided Clarín's point of departure. This article was written, according to Alas,

> con el exclusivo y poco cristiano propósito de arrojar cieno y más cieno sobre la memoria de un poeta difunto que ha influído mucho en la actual literatura francesa, y que tiene multitud de sectarios y hasta podría decirse de adoradores (I).

The reasons for the critic's indignation lay quite clearly in the attitude of the French critic and the aim which he had set himself, given the poet's undeniable merits in the eyes of his followers:

> La diatraba, pues tal era, del crítico francés me hizo sentir ese especial disgusto que causa en el alma la injusticia de un censor que se ceba en la fama de un poeta a quien se deben momentos de solaz, o alguna visión nueva de lo bello, o sugestiones para ideas o sentimientos, o cambios fecundos de ánimo (I).

Clarín gave to Brunetière's critical philosophy the title of 'prudentismo'. It is clear that the Spanish critic not only felt an instinctive emotional aversion towards the meanness of spirit which the Frenchman's attitude betrayed, but, on a less subjective level, believed it to be fundamentally opposed to the nature of critical activity as he conceived it. On the one hand, Clarín saw it as representing an attitude towards literature which was in total discord with the spirit in which works of art are created:

> Brunetière es uno de los capitanes de cierto prudentismo literario. . . . Este prudentismo que en Francia ha hecho ya estragos, también ha entrado en España y combinándose con otras preocupaciones nacionales nos amenaza a nosotros con grandes sequías de ingenio.
>
> Hay muchos aficionados a las letras que viven en constante recelo temerosos de tomar gato por liebre, dispuestos a contener los impulsos del propio entusiasmo en cuanto alguien les advierte de que no es oro todo lo que reluce. Yo confieso que esta clase de lectores me son profundamante antipáticos, aunque no tanto como la ralea de críticos que les sonsacan y escandalizan. Arrojar del templo de la fama a quien no merece ocupar en él un mal rincón siquiera, es santa empresa, pero regatearle gloria al que la tiene legítima, escatimar aplausos al gran ingenio, me parece trabajo improductivo y contrario a la hermosa y grande caridad del arte (I).

Furthermore, it offered nothing but a prejudiced and impoverished vision of works of art, while claiming to be scientifically objective:

> La crítica que no tiene disculpa, la que no puede menos de hacer daño es la que sin ser menos subjetiva que la llamada crítica sujestiva, [la cual, según Clarín, pretende aumentar la facultad de ver y de admirar] pretende representar la rigurosa aplicación de una regla, de un canón científico a las obras de arte, la que no se inspira en el entusiasmo, sino en la prevención, la que lejos de querer ver mucho, todo lo que hay se tapa un ojo, o mira por un tubo, la que no quiere ser lince sino miope voluntario. La crítica que Brunetière usa generalmente, la que ha empleado ahora a juzgar a Baudelaire es de esta clase; detestable como ella sola (II).

At the same time that Clarín used his essay as a platform for attacking this negative critical perspective, he also took the opportunity to advance his own critical philosophy designed expressly to counter the kind of attitude of which 'prudentismo' was representative. The key to and the strength of the system

he proposed lay in the emphasis it accorded to one of the most fundamental principles of critical activity: the necessity of assimilating fully that material which is to be evaluated:

> Pero ¿qué duda cabe, que en la crítica de arte lo primero es enterarse, comprender? Y comprender la poesía es claro que no consiste sólo en descifrar sus elementos intelectuales, sino que hay que penetrar más adentro, en la flor del alma poética (III).

To do so, Clarín believed, the critic would need to transcend his own intellectual, moral and aesthetic prejudices and become uninhibitedly receptive to realities outside himself, in this case, the work of art. Whence his belief that

> en poesía no hay crítico verdadero, sino es capaz de ese acto de abnegación que consiste en prescindir de sí mismo, en procurar, hasta donde quepa infiltrarse en el alma del poeta, ponerse en su lugar. Sólo así se le puede entender del todo y juzgar con justicia verdadera .
> . . . . . .
> En la crítica, la de buen propósito, debe haber su religión del deber y en esta religión su misticismo y este misticismo consiste en trasportarse al alma del artista (III).

Clarín described the kind of criticism in which such a loss of self was possible:

> Sí, hay un modo de crítica, podría decirse un modo de arte, que el espectador sensible e inteligente puede querer, y consiste en una especie de producción refleja; el espectador es aquí como una placa nueva, como un eco; así como los rayos del sol arrancaba vibraciones que parecían quejidos a la estatua famosa de Egipto, así en el crítico de este género el entusiasmo producido por la contemplación de lo bello arranca una manera de comentario, de crítica expansiva, benévola (en la acepción más noble de la palabra) optimista, que hace ver más que ve el espectador frío y pasivo, y expresar bien con elocuencia lo que se admira y se siente (II).

Such a method was, in the critic's eyes, made possible by the fact that beyond the level of conditioned predispositions and inclinations, each man is 'virtualmente semejante a todos los hombres' (III), and so can 'colocarse en todas las situaciones [humanas] sin necesidad de tomarlas para sí definitivamente' (III).

Within the context of this debate, Baudelaire's status as the subject of the essay was determined largely by the fact that he provided a pretext on which to hang the real, critical, debate. The critic was not guided in his choice of Baudelaire as the subject of an essay by a positive or negative response to the poet himself, as in the treatment the poet had received at the hands of critics whose approaches Clarín disliked. His interest was not in Baudelaire himself, but in Baudelaire the victim of unethical critical approaches. Baudelaire was selected because of the critical - in both senses - situation in which he found himself. The critic's aim was to right the wrong of which the poet had been the object. He wished, as has been indicated in previous quotations, to give just recognition to Baudelaire's positive qualities and standing, since

> veo su mérito, reconozco los títulos que puede alegar para defender el puesto que ha conquistado en el Parnaso moderno francés y sólo por esto me decido a escribir, con ocasión del artículo de Brunetière, estas impresiones de una segunda lectura de las Flores del mal, obra que principalmente cita el crítico y que es la más importante del poeta (I).

and also to uncover the true nature of the poet, who, according to Clarín, had not only been maligned but misinterpreted:

> Al leer ahora ese libro [Les Fleurs du Mal] me proponía no sólo estudiar la obra de Baudelaire sino penetrar los motivos que con

> ocasión de esa obra pudo tener Brunetière para decir lo que dijo; he ido buscando las huellas de la vulgaridad, de la petulancia, de los cien defectos que el crítico ha ido señalando, y este propósito mío me hizo ver la gran injusticia que había en leer así a un hombre como Baudelaire. Leyéndole con esa intención, con esa prevención retórica, fría, maligna, no se le puede entender siquiera, entender digo, así, al pie de la letra, ni penetrar todo su sentido y sentimiento, que para eso se necesita mucho más (II).

It is quite clear from this quotation that Clarín's motives were related above all to a desire to redress wrongs. Yet the strategy he employed to achieve this aim involved primarily attacking those who were responsible for these wrongs, rather than concentrating on a revaluation of their victim, quite independently of the misrepresentation which he had suffered. This may explain why the poet did not actually become the central focus of attention until the fourth part of the essay. Baudelaire, then, may have eventually become the subject of the study which took his name for its title, but he owed his selection in the first place, not to the impact he had made on the Asturian critic, but to the fact that he was an author of merit unjustly maligned by forces in criticism which Clarín had set out to combat. Even when the critic came to reinterpret Baudelaire's work, he was motivated above all, and his approach was consequently determined, by the wish to refute the interpretation of the poet advanced by his detractors. The reader is constantly reminded of this throughout the course of the essays. The most immediate indication of it is the peripheral significance of the poet during the first three parts of the debate, which are devoted almost exclusively to questions of critical import. Subsequently, concerns related to issues beyond the poet himself continued to

exercise an influence on Clarín's analysis of him. The critic's attempts to right the wrongs done to the poet, for example, did not amount merely to the application of the alternative critical approach which the former had suggested. There was much dwelling on the wrongs that had been committed, and a clear concern with refuting them as conclusions, a task to which was given an importance and effort equal to that of attempting a new analysis of Baudelaire. It was, in a manner of speaking, a vendetta pursued unremittingly against the work of previous interpreters of Baudelaire.

Each stage of the critic's analysis began with the identification of an existing impression which had to be rectified, a charge of which the poet had to be acquitted. Thus Clarín raised the question of Baudelaire's sincerity, reiterating, but for different reasons, the opinion he had expressed two years previously also in La Ilustración Ibérica (13); he reinterpreted Baudelaire's Satanism, formulating the opinion he was to repeat in 1897 in La Ilustración Española y Americana (14); he tackled the issue of Baudelaire's classification by other critics as a pure formalist without a psychological dimension to his poetry, as a neo-Bhuddist seeking annihilation of the consciousness as an ultimate goal, and as a precursor of Symbolism, suffering from all the defects which the movement's exponents displayed. Clarín also developed his attack beyond criticism of the 'prudentista' attitudes to the poet, to identify a fundamental misconception which had been predominant in Baudelaire criticism. This, the critic observed, was the predisposition to see Baudelaire's work, not as an aesthetic enterprise but as a moral document. As such, it had been understood by critics to represent what the poet

claimed to be true of his moral life. With regard to this error, Clarín referred at some length to the critical approach of the writers of whose articles and letters the Appendice was composed:

> [D]ando al libro una trascendencia moral que siempre buscan primero que todo los escritores de sus ideas [de Barbey D'Aurevilly] , los católicos radicales, llamémosles así, contribuye Barbey d'Aurevilly no poco a dislocar la cuestión crítica y a llenar al lector bonachón de aprensiones olor a azufre. . . . Como se ve, esto no es crítica de arte; aquí se considera Las flores del mal como un documento para la salvación, como un acto, no como pura representación bella. Algo parecido hacen en un sentido o en otros, los demás críticos [Edouard Thierry, F. Dulamon, Charles Asselineau] , así como los autores de las cartas que son, para sendas epístolas, Sainte-Beuve, A. de Custine y Emilio Deschamps. . . .
>
> En general, la crítica antes y ahora no ha hecho casi más, respecto de este libro que fue piedra de escándalo, que estudiar su trascendencia, ya con relación a la sociedad, ya con relación al alma del autor.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Como puede ver cualquiera, todos estos críticos que se salen del libro para penetrar las intenciones del autor, sus probables flaquezas, y para estudiar las consecuencias sociales y morales de sus afirmaciones o de su ejemplo, ya las defiendan, ya las ataquen, dejan a un lado la cuestión propiamente crítica.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Y si algún autor hay que más que todos rechace por su índole este modo de crítica mezclada, impura, es justamente Baudelaire . . . [porque] para Baudelaire no era la poesía expresión inmediata y fiel del estado del alma, porque esto no era arte según él (IV).

One can discern in these lines the essence of Clarín's objection to these critics and the 'prudentistas' alike, the factor which made them one and the same. Both had been diverted from the true way of looking at the facts by the

intervention of their prejudices and other predetermined attitudes in their response to the poet's work. It will be recalled that Clarín's concern, as expressed in his own opinions regarding the true nature of the critic's task, was precisely to avoid that such a thing should be allowed to happen.

2. Indifference and aversion overcome

The absence of positive feelings, either of sympathy or antipathy, among the reasons why Clarín chose Baudelaire as the subject of an essay, is an indication of the nature of the reaction which the poet inspired in the critic. One can detect in Clarín's attitude a lack of great importance attached to the poet, even almost an indifference, which puts the critic apart from both the traditionalist detractors and those who were to express admiration for the poet. Clarín, one learns from the essay, re-read Les Fleurs du Mal especially for the purpose of writing it, which tends to suggest that the first reading had awakened little in the way of a passionate reaction one way or another. Yet the essay itself does provide some testimony of Clarín's attitude to the poet beyond the confines of the polemic which it embodied. We learn, for example, that when the critic applied to the poet the same criteria as those upon which the critics he attacked formulated their judgements - moral sense, prejudices of taste, etc - he found little of attraction in him:

> Yo no tengo a Baudelaire por un poeta de primer orden; ni su estilo, ni sus ideas, ni la estructura de sus versos siquiera me son simpáticos, en el sentido exacto de la palabra (I).

Nevertheless, he was aware that to achieve the critical aim he

had proposed to himself, it was necessary to transcend his own subjectivity. Otherwise, he would not be able to gain access to the material by which he might truly know the poet:

> Mi pronto que no podría juzgar con imparcialidad a Baudelaire si cerraba ojos y oídos a los señales secretos que en sus versos gritan y hacen gestos para que pueda comprendérsele (III).

To do less would lead to unforgiveable misunderstandings:

> Leyendo a Baudelaire segunda vez, he sentido muchas veces repugnancias instintivas; aquí y allí herían mi fe y el amor que la tengo, frases precisas, afirmaciones crudas, que provocaban por su rudeza y franca tirantez la controversia, la oposición agria de mi espíritu. La reflexión me hacía advertir bien pronto que era inoportuno la intervención de mi subjetividad . . . y la conciencia literaria, que también la hay literaria, me gritaba que en aquel punto mi cometido era buscar dentro de mí las ideas y sentimientos del poeta (III).

In this way Clarín proposed to reveal that there was more to Baudelaire than others had given to believe, by depicting him as 'un prestidigitador de ideas, un diablo de feria' (III). At no point can the critic's break with the pattern set by the traditionalist moral critics be seen as clearly as it can here. Clarín's ethical stance in respect of Baudelaire shows how others, who, in defending with vigour and determination their moral and ideological ideals claimed to be carrying out the function of literary critics, had in reality failed in respect of one of the universally established prerequisites of this activity. Clarín, therefore, was motivated by a sense of justice which he invoked in favour of a poet for whom he personally felt no great liking, but whose merits and contribution to modern literature he justly wished to acknowledge. This was the essence of his attitude

towards Baudelaire, and is summed up admirably in a declaration made regarding the general responsibility of the literary critic:

> La crítica debe defender a todos los escritores buenos a quien [sic] se pretende negar la condición de tales, aunque se trate de aquellos por los que no se siente el mayor entusiasmo (I).

Through self-abnegation in the critical act, and the application of the overriding principle of fair-play, Clarín was able to formulate a number of perspicacious and balanced generalisations regarding the true merits of the poet:

> En Baudelaire se puede leer entre líneas toda una metafísica; por lo menos hay allí un poeta que ve y siente a su modo los fundamentales principios de la realidad en cuanto importa a nuestra vida: hace pensar en cosas grandes, nos conmueve profundamente, y nos lleva a las regiones de los ensueños graves y a los dominios de esa idealidad que está por encima de las diferencias de idealismos y realismos, que es necesario ambiente de todo espíritu que no esté adormecido por el vicio más bajo o la ignorancia más grosera. Después de leer las Flores del mal, cualquier hombre de regular sentido y de buena fe declara que ha estado comunicando poéticamente con un espíritu elevado, con una conciencia de las escogidas.
>
> Se ven los defectos del pensador, del artista . . . pero a pesar de tales defectos, y aun de otros, subsiste siempre la idea de que se ha tenido enfrente a uno de los pocos semejantes que tenían algo nuevo por contarnos y que sabían decirlo de una manera agradable, original y propia (VII).

In spite of the means by which Clarín was able to reach such laudable conclusions, it is clear from the way in which they are phrased that his intention was to use them for the purpose of discrediting the opinions of critics hostile to Baudelaire. This being the case, doubts may be raised regarding how sincere the critic's appreciation of the poet was. On the one hand,

it could not justifiably be argued that by so doing Alas falsified his assessment of the poet, for this would imply a failure to distinguish between the critic's ability to recognise the poet's merits and the use to which he put this awareness. Yet on the other hand, a tension certainly exists between the magnanimous spirit in which Clarín formulated his understanding of Baudelaire and the way in which he exploited these insights for his own partisan ends. Thus it remains that while he honestly identified Baudelaire's true positive qualities, he may have exaggerated the extent to which they would make themselves evident to the reader, asserting themselves and overcoming the moral prejudices of all but the basest sensibilities. Having said this, it would nevertheless be difficult to dismiss Clarín as a mercenary who feigned equanimity to achieve his aims. There is clear evidence that the critic was able to detect certain correspondences between his thought and that of the poet, with respect to the critical process. While one could not go as far as to conjecture, on these grounds, an affinity of sensibility, the fact that Clarín seriously attributed value to certain of Baudelaire's ideas certainly marks an advance in understanding of the poet in Spain. In the second chapter of the essay, Clarín noted that the poet shared his awareness, and opinion, of the 'prudentista' reader:

> Es más, hay versos en las flores del mal, en que parece que el autor adivina a esa clase de lectores secos, ciegos y sordos, para el caso verdaderos idiotas; más de una vez se vuelve contra ellos, ora displicente, ora melancólico, ya airado, ya compasivo (II).

While in the fourth chapter he invoked Baudelaire's own words on the nature of poetry, in support of his contention that previous critics had been misguided in reading Les Fleurs du Mal as if it

were a literal testimony of moral realities within the poet's conscience. Josette Blanquat has also discerned a parity between Baudelaire's and Clarín's conception of the nature of criticism, and even of art itself, which she indicates on a number of occasions during the course of the article:

> Clarín a trouvé dans l'oeuvre critique de Baudelaire un modèle d'autant plus admiré qu'il reconnaissait l'intuition métaphysique de 'l'infini dans le fini', de 'l'âme', de 'l'intime du cerveau', sur laquelle il fondait lui-même son attitude critique. Et la création d'une poésie dépersonnalisée correspondait au sens de l'art du romancier et moraliste espagnol (p. 24).

3. A vicious circle

Having examined the attitude which Clarín held towards the poet and the spirit in which he undertook his study of him, we may now proceed to examine the image of the poet built up during the course of the essay. In one sense, Clarín said nothing new, in spite of the aim which he proposed to fulfil, and perhaps precisely because of it. The component parts of the image he elaborated were no different than those selected by his predecessors. Clarín's essay offered merely a new interpretation of these issues, and he was inevitably tied to them by his overriding desire to refute what had been said before in respect of them. The poet's sincerity, his satanism, his affiliation with Parnassian 'formalism' or 'impassivity', and with Symbolism, were once again paraded before the reader's eyes. Clarín's failure, however, if it is truly a failure, to escape a pre-existing critical framework almost seems to have occurred with respect to the perspective he applied in his analysis of the poet as well. In his examination of Baudelaire, he ran

dangerously close to creating the impression that he had fallen into the same trap as those critics whose critical approach to the poet he had condemned for failing to treat Les Fleurs du Mal as a work of art. Moreover, his own analysis came near to contradicting what he had inferred previously in the fourth chapter regarding the critical treatment of literature in this respect. If we return to this chapter we find harsh censure of 'estos críticos que se salen del libro para penetrar las intenciones del autor, sus probables flaquezas, y para estudiar las consecuencias sociales y morales de sus afirmaciones o de su ejemplo', because by so doing they 'dejan a un lado la cuestión propiamente crítica'. We find Clarín calling for a strict separation of the tasks of the critic and the moralist, on the grounds that art comprises 'dos aspectos que no deben confundirse nunca, el social y el técnico' (IV). On the basis of this the critic expressed the conclusion that 'es mal crítico de arte el que juzga una obra de bella literatura por las intenciones del autor, por la oportunidad social, por el alcance moral, etc., etc.' (IV). After this one would expect Clarín's analysis of Baudelaire to seek only the answer to the questions which the critic identified as being those pertinent to the true critic: '¿Está [la obra] bien o está mal? ¿Ha producido ilusión o no?' (IV). But this was not to be, or at least apparently not. In spite of Clarín's declaration, supported by quotations from Baudelaire's own writings on aesthetics, that poetry should not be taken as a portrait of the man, certain statements made by the critic in the fifth chapter readily lend themselves to be construed as an invitation to seek the meaning of Baudelaire's moral life in his art, and an

endorsement of so doing. Clarín, for instance, stated quite openly that 'No es difícil descubrir en estas poesías cortas y de apariencia plástica el predominio del elemento sicológico' (V), and that 'Baudelaire es romántico [en el sentido de que] . . . es poeta del drama interior, de la indecible vaguedad en que necesariamente quedan los interesantes fenómenos de la profunda vida psíquica' (V). Josette Blanquat, notes apparently the same attitude in this respect of Clarín's reference to Brunetière's attitude to the poet as 'la gran injusticia que había en leer así a un hombre como Baudelaire' (II):

> A l'accent de ce mot hombre, prononcé avec une gravité tout espagnole, nous comprenons l'estime du critique pour l'homme diffamé sous prétexte de littérature. La compréhension esthétique, selon Clarín, ouvre à la connaissance de l'être, et nous sentons bien que Clarín recherche le message de l'homme qu'a été Baudelaire à travers les poèmes transmis par son génie (P. 10).

Further apparent reversals of opinion are to be found. A number of references to the significance of the moral dimension of Baudelaire's art appeared to belie Clarín's condemnation, in the preceding chapter, of the study of literature 'con relación al alma del autor' (IV). Statements such as 'Baudelaire, puede decirse, siempre, siempre escribe para el alma, y para el alma espiritual' (V), and 'No se le puede colocar entre las [almas] . . . que prescinden del fondo moral de la vida' (V) positively appear to encourage the critical exploitation of literature in this way. Clarín seemed to be indulging in precisely those moral concerns which he said had no part in literature when he defined Baudelaire as 'uno de tantos poetas cristianos . . . preocupados con la lucha del alma y del cuerpo, de Dios y el diablo' (V). Indeed he

proceeded to label the poet 'casi maniqueo' and went on to spend the whole of the sixth chapter discussing the nature of Manicheism and Baudelaire's quasi-Manicheism, in which religious and moral denominators abounded. Moreover, having denied the pertinence of the effective potential of a work of art, its 'alcance moral' or the 'consecuencias sociales y morales' to which it led to the work of art, Clarín paradoxically went on to discuss the poet in precisely these terms. 'Baudelaire asusta, entristece, horroriza si se quiere', he declared, 'pero no inspira la desesperación nihilista de tantos y tantos poetas modernos' (VI). He then went on to say that the poet

> hace pensar en cosas grandes, nos conmueve profundamente y nos lleva a las regiones de los ensueños graves y a los dominios de esa idealidad que está por encima de las diferencias de idealismos y realismos, que es necesario ambiente de todo espíritu que no esté adormecido por el vicio más bajo o la ignorancia más grosera (VII).

At one point in the midst of these apparent contradictions, however, Clarín recalled Baudelaire's distinction between life and art that he had quoted in the fourth chapter, thereby giving the impression that he was intending to remain faithful to those precepts which he had identified as necessary to true criticism. 'Sin embargo', he said, 'no se olvide lo dicho en el artículo anterior respecto de las ideas de nuestro autor acerca de la diferencia entre la poesía y la pasión y la verdad' (V). On this occasion, however, he was not to refer to this distinction in the first sense in which he had made use of it, as proof that Baudelaire's art was not a direct representation of his inner life. Nor was it because he had realised he might be falling into a contradiction of his previous propositions. This time

Clarín was exploiting the distinction in a new way, for by the fifth essay the critic had left behind the issue of establishing the difference between the artistic persona created by Baudelaire and his actual personality, and was referring to the poet's aesthetic beliefs in an attempt to demonstrate that he was not a Parnassian. The basis of his contention in this respect was his belief of the existence in Baudelaire's work of a metaphysical dimension that was quite absent in that of the pure formalists, and quite distinct from the pantheistic desire for annihilation of the consciousness which characterised that of the 'impassives' of the school. Yet by following this line of argument Clarín laid great emphasis upon the poet's moral consciousness, and thereby gave the impression of contradicting what he had said in only the preceding chapter regarding how the critic should exploit works of art. Moreover, it is ironic that to argue his case he referred to exactly the same aesthetic pronouncement by Baudelaire that he had used in the fourth chapter to discourage critical investigation of moral motives.

Nevertheless, and in spite of this confusion, Blanquat is correct in her affirmation that Clarín 'veut détacher l'attention des critiques de la personne du poëte' (p. 16). The apparent contradictions are a result above all of the critic's failure to follow through systematically the critical propositions he laid down in the fourth chapter. He gave the impression that the critical task was restricted to asking '¿Ha producido ilusión o no?', and that moral concerns had no place in literary criticism, only to raise them in respect of another aspect of the poet in the next chapter. His fault lay in not defining clearly enough the kind of discussion of the poet as a moral entity which

he considered permissible, as well as in failing to distinguish between the moral aspect he discussed and that which he considered alien to true criticism. The evidence enabling this situation to be resolved is indirect and takes the form of a clue provided by a sentence in the sixth chapter which aims to explain Baudelaire's satanism: 'la inspiración satánica de las Flores del mal supone la realidad afirmada, el reconocimiento y la conciencia estética de lo infinito y de lo absoluto'. What Clarín meant here was that the moral dimension of Baudelaire's consciousness which was reflected in his art was extremely significant. It showed, the critic said, that the poet experienced a genuine and important preoccupation with the struggle between good and evil, 'la preocupación magna de la vida racional', as he called it. (VI). Baudelaire, then, had high moral concerns, a laudable trait by any standards. Yet this concern, Clarín went on to specify, was not manifested directly, not expressed literally, in Baudelaire's work. The world of artistic expression, as Baudelaire himself had said, was an autonomous world, and should not be supposed to represent literally the poet's moral life or worth, or the struggles of his inner being. What he called the 'conciencia estética' was the reflection of life in art, but not a direct representation of the former. The mistake of other critics had been to read Baudelaire's work literally. Thus, they had seen Baudelaire's satanism as a cult of evil, or, if they had not been able to take the poet seriously, they had seen this trait as an insincere claim to worship evil. In Clarín's eyes, however, the Lucifer of Les Fleurs du Mal was a symbolic, and not a literal, entity - 'Es claro que para Baudelaire es el diablo símbolo, y nada más' (VI) - representing 'un mal prepotente

. . . llamándose, allí donde están las raíces de la vida consciente, remordimiento' (VI). The symbolic devil of Les Fleurs du Mal reflected its comparatum in the life of the poet 'por oposición', and this was consciousness of the infinite reality, the force of Good, 'la conciencia de la luz' (VI). Baudelaire the man, according to Clarín, experienced a genuine and acute awareness of the fundamental moral concerns of the human race, although he did not express this consciousness from a systematic theological posture. To assume from his poetry that he did, and to suppose from the terminology of his verses, a particular moral position upheld by the poet, was to misread both the poet and his art:

> Es claro que Baudelaire no es un poeta teosófico, ni místico, ni siquiera teológico, por más que la forma literaria de sus versos, el material estético, por decirlo así, se refiere a veces directamente a determinadas creencias y tradiciones religiosas históricas y bien conocidas (VI).

Because of this we can return to consider Blanquat's suggestion that Clarín sought 'l'homme qu'a été Baudelaire à travers les poèmes transmis par son génie' in a new light, recognising now that the 'à travers' acknowledges the distance between the artefact and the human reality of the poet.

4. Conclusion

Whatever one may consider to be the ultimate value of Clarín's essay, it undoubtedly served to release critical opinion of Baudelaire from the impasse of prejudiced condemnation at which it had arrived in the hands of the traditionalist critics. Alas maintained that Baudelaire was a poet of merit, and this was not a hollow claim, for the analysis he undertook identified

the elements which embodied the substance of the poet's inspiration, his vision and his aesthetics. The summary with which Clarín drew his essay to a close epitomises the charitable nature of his approach:

> Diré, en fin, por vía de resumen: Baudelaire no es tanto como han querido algunos, pero es mucho más de lo que dice Brunetière. No es el primer poeta simbolista, sino un poeta original cuyo temperamento produjo una poesía nerviosa, vibrada, lacónica, plástica, pero no alucinada, ni materialista, ni indiferente. En la forma, lo que parece característico es la aspiración a lo correcto, sencillo; la línea pura en breve espacio; todo lo contrario del desorden pindárico de la elocuencia lírica. En el alma de esta poesía de las Flores del mal, lo que resalta es el contraste de un espíritu cristiano, por lo menos idealista, con un sensualismo apasionado, sutil y un tanto enfermizo, que vive entre metafísicas, por decirlo así, y que representa todo lo contrario de la pacífica voluptuosidad poética de Horacio, dentro de la sensualidad misma (VII).

In conclusion, it only remains to establish in what way and to what degree Clarín's essay represented an advance in the understanding of Baudelaire in Spain. When one considers the critic's efforts on all levels, one realises that there can be no uniform response. Distinctions and qualifications are necessary. It is true that Clarín's conception and assessment of the poet's vital dilemma was novel at the time. As Josette Blanquat says, 'Dans le cadre de la critique sur Baudelaire, ces réflexions rendent un son nouveau en 1887, et se trouvent confirmées, dans l'ensemble, par la critique moderne' (p. 23). Certainly, the critic's reappraisal of the poet, inasmuch as it was an attempt to analyse his vital condition seriously and impartially, was a commendable enterprise as rich in positive insight as the response of those whose perspicacious understanding was the result

of an ability to identify with the poet. In other respects, however, the progress is less marked. In certain specific areas, Clarín appears to have remained within the same limits as those restricting the critics whose impression of Baudelaire he aimed to discredit. Moreover, from a certain point of view, his motives for studying Baudelaire seem ironically similar to those of his rivals. Les Fleurs du Mal were as much a 'piedra de escándalo' for him as they had been for Valera and others, for he reacted to these critics' appreciation of Baudelaire's poetry as committedly as they had reacted to the poems themselves. Clarín also discussed the same issues that they had. This was an inevitable result of his desire to refute the conclusions drawn previously in respect of the aspects of the poet's work which had invited discussion. For the same reasons, he retained a moral perspective in the debate. Although Clarín came to conclusions which were different and ultimately more enlightening than those drawn by the poet's detractors, he argued from within the same parameters as they did. Blanquat declares that

> S'il a profondément ressenti l'inquiétude chrétienne du poète français, Clarín n'est pas tombé dans l'excès d'une 'critique théologique', car il a montré vigoureusement le caractère irrationnel de la fascination exercée par le Mal (p. 23).

Nevertheless, one must weigh this against the fact that Clarín ultimately expounded the poet's merits in moral terms, that is, in terms of the Manichean consciousness of good and evil, 'la cuestión de cuestiones' as Clarín somewhat revealingly called it, which he deemed to constitute the metaphysical dimension of Baudelaire's work. In Clarín's essay, then, a blend of the

old and the new persists throughout. For example, Clarín, whose use of a moral frame of reference cannot be denied, was explicit in his praise of Paul Bourget's purely psychological study of Baudelaire.

Discussion of Clarín's essay doubles as a fitting conclusion to this survey of traditionalist critical response to Baudelaire, for, appropriately, it furnishes itself a critique of existing critical attitudes in Spain. The Asturian broached many of the questions relevant to the analysis of the traditionalist critical perspective and drew precisely those conclusions which it would be viable to draw when composing a concluding evaluation of this perspective. In broad terms, he clearly identified and submitted to critical scrutiny the presuppositions underlaying the traditionalists' approach to the Frenchman's work. He also reassessed the principal conclusions which had been drawn on the basis of these assumptions, and attempted to determine the extent to which they were justifiable. In more precise terms, he drew attention to the fundamental error which critics supposedly engaged in literary evaluation had committed when stressing above all the moral impact of Les Fleurs du Mal, and proceeded to point out the way in which this hindered unprejudiced assessment of the true merits inherent in the poet's work. He questioned the unanimously hostile attitude displayed towards Baudelaire, and highlighted the imbalance in critical opinion to which this had led. He underlined the recurrent failure to establish a distinction between the persona inhabiting Baudelaire's poetry and the moral personality of the man himself.

Clarín, then, displayed a degree of tolerance towards Baudelaire without precedent among his peers, and advanced as con-

vincing a case in support of his beliefs as any of the poet's traditionalist detractors. Yet the impact of his study was in reality more restricted than might have been expected or hoped. Certainly, it opened the eyes of some individuals, the young Juan Ramón Jimenez, for example, to Baudelaire's merits as an artist. It also incited other progressive critics, such as Fray Candil, to endorse the claims it made and, perhaps more effectively, bring it to the attention of the reading public. It did not, however, succeed in bringing about the fundamental and widespread transformation in critical practice and prevailing attitudes to the poet which it implicitly called for. There is no evidence that the styles which Clarín took to task ceased to be employed. Neither did the essay cause the zoilos to repent, rethink their opinions, and come to see the poet in a more favourable or at least more indulgent light. While this was no doubt partly due to the unshakeable resolve of the traditionalists, another equally viable explanation offers itself for consideration. In his revaluation of prevailing Spanish critical practice, Clarín failed to take into account the existence of another school of critics, generally of anti-Baudelairian persuasion, whose approach to literature was based on presuppositions which lay outside the parameters of debate within which Clarín, the Spanish traditionalists, and all but one of the earlier French commentators mentioned in the essay operated. It is to these critics that we will now turn our attention.

NOTES

1. 'Los presuntuosos', Madrid Cómico, 16/7/1887, pp. 3 and 6 (p. 3).

2. Donald L. Shaw, A Literary History of Spain. The Nineteenth Century (London: Ernest Benn, 1972), p. 5.

3. Shaw, 'Towards the understanding of Spanish romanticism', Modern Language Review, 58 (1963), pp. 190-95 (p. 191).

4. Ibid., p. 192.

5. Ibid., p. 191.

6. 'La campana del rosario. Fragmento del diario de una señora tomado de una novela inédita y dedicado a su querido amigo el Sr. D. Fermín de la Puente y Apezechea', republished in OC, V, 298-303 (p. 299).

7. 'La literatura moderna en Francia', La España Moderna, No. 135 (March 1900) pp. 63-79 (pp. 67-68).

8. Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la recepción pública de D. Emilio Ferrari. El día 30 de abril de 1905 (Madrid: Ambrosio Pérez, 1905), pp. 32-3.

9. 'Fines del arte fuera del arte' (1896), OC, II, 902-908 (p. 902).

10. A Literary History of Spain. The Nineteenth Century, p. 123.

11. 'El gran crítico' in Crítica de la crítica, edición de Peter Hamm, traducción de Michael Faber-Kaiser (Barcelona: Barral, 1970), pp. 23-45 (p. 24).

12. See Enid Starkie, Baudelaire (Penguin 1971), p. 629.

13. In 'Lecturas: "Máximo", novela de Armando Palacio' (La Ilustración Ibérica, 30/4/1885, pp. 279 & 282), Clarín made the following statement regarding the sincerity of the artist:

> La sinceridad artística... no exige siempre la sencillez porque lo complicado y aun lo retorcido y quintiesenciado pueden ser tan sincera manifestación del espíritu, como el idilio más sencillo que queramos imaginar. ... Baudelaire en sus Flores del mal, no parece sincero ante una observación que, con el respeto debido a Valera, yo estimo a mi vez poco sincera o superficial; y sin embargo, hay allí la sinceridad de una enfermedad, la sinceridad del delirio poético, la sinceridad de la afectación espontánea si se quiere (pp. 279-282).

14. In 'Paul Verlaine. "Liturgias íntimas"', La Ilustración Española y Americana (30/9/1897), Clarín defended Baudelaire's diabolismo in the following terms:

> Yo he sido siempre enemigo de la crítica que quiere rebajar el mérito de Las flores del mal fundándose en que lo diabólico de este libro puede ser pura imaginación. Baudelaire mismo declaró que acaso fuera así, pero que, según sus ideas estéticas, eso no importaba, pues el poema no es la vida particular, insignificante del autor, sino la creación, de todo en todo nueva, aparte, sustantiva, que vale si está bien fingida. Según Baudelaire, será malo el poema si averiguáis por medio de la chismografía que el poeta como hombre no vive en consonancia con lo que escribe (Reprinted in Obra olvidada, edición de Antonio Ramos-Gascón [Madrid: Júcar 1973] , pp. 170-78 [p. 175-76]).

C H A P T E R T H R E E

'Pero el tema de la enfermedad del artista ... constituía una idea firmemente arraigada en la mentalidad occidental, casi un axioma desde el romanticismo'

Luis Maristany, El gabinete del doctor Lombroso (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1973), p. 53.

In Páginas de arte, Rubén Darío tells how, on the occasion of Núñez de Arce's first visit to his home, the ageing Spanish bard found a copy of Verlaine's Sagesse on a table among other books and papers. This discovery prompted a supporter of Naturalist aesthetics who also happened to be present to ask his opinion of the French poets of the day. Darío's essay records this moment, and the reply which Núñez de Arce gave, demonstrating quite unequivocally his response to the generation of French poets which is generally accredited with having exercised a fundamental influence on modernismo:

> -¡Eh! - exclamó uno de los de La Plaga - . Verlaine, Rollinat, Richepin . . . ¿Qué piensa usted de ellos?
>
> - Algunos, señor, enfermos . . .
>
> El prosiguió entonces, lleno de fuego nervioso, vibrante, con su sonora voz personal, que resuena simpática:
>
> - Sí, esa es la palabra: enfermedad. Toda la literatura francesa está enferma, está decadente, en el legítimo sentido de la frase. Esos neuróticos, esos diabólicos están demostrando que la Francia contemporánea ha decaído, en lo que a la poesía toca, después de la muerte de Victor Hugo (OC, I, 664-65).

To draw attention to the fact that in making an evaluation of this kind, Núñez de Arce made no appeal to literary values but rather adopted criteria which are readily identifiable as psychological, may seem an unnecessarily academic distinction to make. For those gathered in Darío's house, however, the choice of such designations as 'enfermos' and 'neuróticos' would have more than likely held quite specific associations which would not be present in the mind of a modern reader. They

would have invited an observer present at the time to recall an attitude which became progressively systematised during the last decades of the nineteenth century, as a new conception of the nature of art and the artist developed and began to infiltrate the domain of literary criticism. The origin of this perspective was to be found in the belief that the rapidly developing discipline of psychology had an important role to play in explaining the forces behind the creative impulse. Why the science was able to assume this responsibility, and why its interpretation of art took the form it did, has its explanation in the astonishing progress made by science in the course of the nineteenth century, and the influence which science was consequently able to exert upon thought.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1. A climate of emancipation

The developments which together characterised the scientific movement of the nineteenth century established the methodological bases of science as it is known today. Their origins, however, are to be traced back to advances and discoveries made as early as the seventeenth century. It was not until the eighteenth century, however, that the influence of the conceptual antecedents of modern science began to give rise to questions of philosophical import and to challenge the traditional theistic world-view and the metaphysical interpretation of existence that had hitherto predominated. With the Enlightenment and, subsequently, in the philosophical upheaval at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, of which the

Romantic movement was the literary expression, science was at last able to break free of the restrictions which had hitherto rendered it subordinate to the authority of traditional theological values, and to profit from a climate of ideological emancipation favouring its autonomous development:

> The liberty of word and thought that accompanied the French revolution contributed notably to the evolution of science. The freer atmosphere of politics favoured rebellion against dogmatism, metaphysics, and the many influences that restricted human thought (1).

Science had already shown itself to be capable of providing the basis for an independent philosophical system through discoveries which cast doubt on traditional beliefs regarding the nature of the universe. It now found itself in a position to develop this potential, and proceeded to consolidate its new-found authority by undertaking with obvious success the enterprises to which it applied itself.

2. The secret of success

The victories culled by the new science, which served to establish its credibility, were primarily the result of its methodology. Rejecting metaphysical speculation and consultation of the traditional philosophical oracles, it turned entirely to the empirical approach which it had itself elaborated as a means of acquiring information and, consequently, knowledge. This was characterised by observation and reliance upon the evidence of the senses, and the collection of data by means of methodical experimentation. The object of study to which these procedures were applied was the material world and the physical

objects in it. In this complementary combination lay the effectiveness of science.

Experience revealed the need for more sophisticated means of and aids to experimentation and observation, which, when devised, led in turn to further revelations. This relentless geometric progression brought with it an impression that progress as never before witnessed was taking place, and gave rise to the idea that many of the mysteries of existence could be resolved or understood through systematic study of the physical world to a much greater degree than had hitherto been imagined. The French positivist philosopher Auguste Comte was, among others, a mouthpiece for this increasingly generalised belief (2). Thus, the new science, which had begun life as a mere instrument in the process of acquisition of knowledge evolved towards the status of a philosophical system. Its empirical methodology acquired the aura of a theory of knowledge, and its materialistic focus that of a worldview or concept of the nature of the universe. This led to a polarisation of philosophical interpretations of existence, with the doctrine of a God-centred universe at the one end of the scale, and a materialistic, mechanistic theory of life at the other. The latter appeared as a revelation to many of the converts it won, engendering in them the conviction that the true nature of things animate and inanimate had until then remained misunderstood. Thus it was that Pompeyo Gener was able to state, in his study Literaturas malsanas (1894), that the true, evolutionary nature of things (as opposed to the fixity of form that the Christian theological interpretation of existence had taught the human race to presuppose) had been dis-

covered 'gracias al método científico inductivo' (p. 3). Once science had established its own explanation of existence, the stage was set for it to elaborate what at first sight may seem paradoxical: a corresponding system of moral values. This was to be achieved by radical and revolutionary developments in the life sciences.

3. Science and medicine

Historians of science have coined the term 'scientific medicine' to designate a type of medicine to which discoveries in the natural sciences were directly applied, as was the case during the nineteenth century. Medicine proved to be an ideal medium for the diffusion of the methodology and worldview of developing science during this period for several reasons. First, medicine constitutes an area of contact between the scientist and the layman. Second, medical science studies the nature of illness, implicit in which must be a notion of what constitutes health, and, by extension, life. Third, medicine's field of interest, namely, the body and its functions, was ideally suited to express the shift towards the study of material reality favoured by science. Finally, the successes of medicine, as in technology, offered readily appreciable concrete evidence for the validity of science's methodology and field of exploration.

The origins of the scientific movement in medicine in the nineteenth century can be traced back to the preceding century. One of the most fundamental steps towards a materialistic interpretation of disease was the discovery by Giovanni Battista Morgagni (1682-1771) that the symptoms of disease were actually related to malfunctions of the organs of the body. Establishing

that the origins of disease were in the body was the first stage in the elaboration of a purely physical interpretation of disease, and hence of life itself. This discovery also had the practical advantage of permitting a more appropriate and efficient therapy, thereby allowing medicine to gain the kind of triumphs over matter which were the basis on which science established its credibility. The discovery accorded a precedent to a physiological interpretation of all the vital activity which was to be long-lived. Indeed, nineteenth century medicine displays a readiness to trace even the most sophisticated psychological operations back to their origins in the nerves and the cells, as the psychological studies of genius to be examined below amply demonstrate. This shift in focus was paralleled by increasing tendency to appreciate experiment as a means of gaining knowledge:

> With the nineteenth century, man's knowledge of his body was rapidly transformed by its permeation with the methods of scientific investigation. Previously advances had been largely unconscious, but in this century clearer idea of the nature of the knowledge required led to the design of specific questions, in the form of experiments with specific answers. Wide speculative generalisations gradually diminished. Moreover the basic sciences themselves now matured to the extent that they became increasingly applicable to the medical sciences of physiology and pathology, and finally treatment itself. This has led to the most rapid gain of medical knowledge which has ever occurred in history (3).

The growth of scientific medicine in the nineteenth century can be divided into two major stages, the dividing line falling about the same time as the publication of Les Fleurs du Mal. The first half of the century can be said to have involved the emergence and consolidation of the application of science to

medicine. The second half of the century witnessed the emergence of a more specific orientation within the general trend established in the first half:

> The advancement of scientific medicine in the second half of the nineteenth century was characterised by the introduction of a biological or evolutionary view of morphology and physiology, out of which came the sciences of cellular pathology, bacteriology and parasitology, new modes of seeing disease and its causes, which had in them the germ of novel methods of treatment by means of sera and vaccines (4).

The division in the development of scientific medicine in the nineteenth century is marked by the publication of On the Origin of Species by the Means of Natural Selection by Charles Darwin in 1859, and of Die Cellular-pathologie in ihrer Bëgrundung auf physiologische und pathologische Gewebelehre by Rudolf Virchow in 1858.

Darwin's basic thesis was that 'The variations in species depend . . . on various naturally acting causes and especially on the struggle for existence and on its related "natural selection"' (5). The implications were revolutionary:

> Darwin's extraordinary marshalling of facts, in evidence of the survival of the fittest by natural selection in the struggle for existence, had the same far-reaching influence upon biological speculation that the discoveries of Copernicus had upon astronomy. It dispensed with the ancient Linnaën concept of the fixity of species, that animals and plants were originally created as we find them today, and the ghostly metaphysical abstractions which were invoked to 'explain' why this should be. It created the sciences of comparative physiology and pathology, by pointing to the close structural and functional relationship between human tissues and those of animals and plants.
>
> . . . . . .

> The application of the idea of continuous development in the Descent of Man (1871) made an end of the anthropocentric theory that the universe was created for man. It began to be perceived that there is a rude and noble dignity in the story of man's painful evolution from the lower forms of life, even as Darwin's picture of the struggle for existence illuminated the cause of human misery as never before (6).

Darwin's thesis was at once revolutionarily destructive and constructive. It discredited the teachings of the Church which had for so long dominated Western philosophy, but posited in their place its own heroic mythology in the form of man's noble evolutionary struggle. It replaced metaphysical speculation with the new principle of 'observational' knowledge. It not only represented a chef d'oeuvre of scientific methodology, but also was ideology, mythology, morality and methodology combined. Darwin was indeed 'a man of genius who accomplished one of the most remarkable generalisations in the history of human thought' (7). Darwin's theory was not without its precursors or antecedents, but its success must be due, not only to its sophistication and conclusiveness, but also because it emerged when the ideological climate was conducive to its acceptance, and any opposition was countered by fervent and respectable support (8).

The second 'coup' for biology was Virchow's Cellular Pathology (1858). Virchow took scientific materialism to its extreme by asserting that the basic unit of the human or animal microcosm was the cell, and that the body was not a unit but a 'cell state', in which each cell was a 'citizen'. Virchow's notion of disease is defined as follows:

> The essence of disease, according to my idea,

> is a modified part of the organism or rather a modified cell or aggregation of cells (whether of tissue or of organs.) . . . Actually every diseased part of the body holds a parasitic relation to the rest of the healthy body to which it belongs, and lives at the expense of the organism (9).

istic
This led to an essentially material, physiological definition of life:

> The cell doctrine . . . applied to all living structures, leads to a cellular physiology and a cellular pathology, which is always based on histology - that is, on the anatomic knowledge of the structural elements (10).

4. Science and psychology

Having examined how the influence of scientific materialism on medicine leads to a fundamentally biological and physiological interpretation of life, and how the permeation of medicine by empirical methods complemented and help to reinforce this focus, we can now consider the effect of these same factors, operating through the influence of medicine, on psychology. Prior to the emergence of the conditions which led to the rapid development of science, psychology had accounted for itself quite well. Although still the province of philosophers and speculators, it had developed a reasonably respectable empirical methodology known as 'introspection', whereby the psychologist reflected upon what was happening within his own consciousness, and tried to discern processes taking place and how he perceived phenomena outside himself. The primacy accorded to the evidence of the senses by the new science provided a firm physiological basis upon which 'introspection' could evolve into a more objective, quantitative approach to human mental activity. At the same

time advances had been made in the study and knowledge of the physiology of the organ of principal interest to the psychologist - the brain - and the senses. These two factors together led to a shift away from interest exclusively in mental states, towards the neurological events behind them. The study of the mind turned its attention to observable or quantifiable material manifestations of psychological activity, as opposed to intangible process taking place in the mind.

The relevance of Darwin's Theory of Evolution soon became apparent. Two aspects of this doctrine enjoyed particular influence on psychological thought. The first was the premise that similarities existed between the human and animal mind. This gave rise to the science of comparative psychology, the exponents of which soon established a scale of achievement in evolutionary terms, with man at the top and the rest of the living creatures arrayed below. The higher echelons of this hierarchy were examined by Darwin in <u>On the Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals</u> (1872). Here, he described manifestations of emotion not only in beasts and normal adults from the society in which he lived, but also in intermediate categories such as primitive tribesmen, children and lunatics. Secondly, the Theory of Evolution bequeathed to psychology the notion of heredity, which Darwin understood to be the mechanism by which traits conducive or detrimental to survival are passed on to subsequent generations. There is clear evidence that evolutionary thinking of this kind took root in Spain around the turn of the century (11).

The notion of heredity was fundamental to the Theory of Degeneration, a doctrine which came to dominate psychology

during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Theory of Degeneration was a theory of psychopathology, that is, it attempted to account for mental ill-health, rather than concerning itself with the functioning of the healthy mind. It was first expounded in cogent form by B. A. Morel in his Traité des dégénérescences (1857). Morel defined 'dégénérations' as

> transformations pathologiques [qui] s'établissent soit par l'enchaînement des phénomènes morbides qui se commandent et s'engendrent successivement, soit par le moyen des transmissions héréditaires que l'on peut bien aussi regarder comme formées par un enchaînement de phénomènes qui s'engendrent et se commandent, d'une manière successive, jusque dans les conditions intimes de la vie foétale (p.vii).

Morel's treatise provides some particularly interesting illustrations of the ideological dimension which the life sciences had acquired as a result of their permeation by evolutionary thinking. It is clear from Morel's attitude to what he considered to be 'deviations from the normal human type' (12), that he understood degeneration to be not just a medical problem, but a social and moral one. The Traité identifies as a particular cause for concern 'les dégénérescences fixes et permanentes, dont la présence, au milieu de la partie saine de la population, est un sujet de danger incessant' (p.ix. My italics). His contention that

> le traitement de l'aliénation mentale ne doit plus être regardé comme indépendent de tout ce qu'il est indispensable de tenter pour améliorer l'état intellectuel, physique et moral de l'espèce humaine (p. ix)

reveals that underlying the Theory of Degeneration was a preoccupation with evolutionary progress and the betterment of the human race through the eradication of factors which did not favour

advancement.

Psychology in the latter half of the nineteenth century had come, then, to embrace an ideal of evolutionary perfection. The revelation that mankind had developed, through a 'struggle for life', to become the highest form of life, had established evolution as the fundamental law of nature. From this there derived the belief that societies should seek to ensure the continuation of evolutionary progress. Indeed, to the exponents of Darwinian thought fulfilment of the evolutionary potential of the species was man's true destiny. Failure or the inability to do so through impaired adaptability provided a new basis for the definition of psychological or physiological abnormality.

The potential of science to generate a system of moral values thus began to realize itself. The notions of normality and abnormality acquired favourable or unfavourable overtones respectively, as concepts which had begun life in dispassionate scientific treatises were transformed into the stuff of polemic. As science began to embrace an ideological cause, so the moral significance of evidence varied in extent according to the intention and predispositions of whoever made use of it (13).

It was under conditions such as these that the theme of 'genius' came under scrutiny, being understood to constitute a psychosis of degenerative origins.

5. The new doctrine in Spain

Regrettably, the forces of change latent in Spain in the nineteenth century were deprived of the climate of liberalism or tolerance which in other European countries, had encouraged the intellectual emancipation conducive to the growth of the new

science. The consolidation of forward-thinking attitudes was repeatedly interrupted or thwarted by political conditions unfavourable to their survival. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, a reactionary government kept liberal intellectuals in exile until the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833. The repercussions of the 1848 revolution which affected continental Europe were hardly felt in Spain, and it was only during the six years between the revolution of 1868 and the restoration of the monarchy in 1874 that progressive views were able to impose themselves with any degree of continuity. Even when the opportunity arose to introduce new developments in sciences or philosophy, there was no lack of vehement opposition. In the first place, new ideas from neighbouring France, one of the century's richest sources of philosophical and scientific progress, persistently met with resistance from a well-established tradition of Gallophobia. Secondly, new scientific ideas were seen as a threat to traditional values. Finally, new ideas that reached Spain had little in which to take root. In other Western European countries developments in philosophy and science in the eighteenth century had revitalised the academies and universities. In Spain, however, activity of this kind had been sporadic and far less systematic, and its effect was, therefore, inconsequential in comparison. The situation was compounded by political and social instability in the early years of the century, followed by the reign of Ferdinand VII, a monarch unsympathetic to freedom of thought.

Although these circumstances could not ultimately prevent the new science from reaching Spain, they did hinder its establishment. As a result, new scientific methodology and positivistic thought

came relatively late to Spain. Spanish science was obliged to rely on imported advances and discoveries, rather than through native endeavour, at least initially. Moreover, as it developed it had to contend with a vociferous body of opposition, composed in the majority of traditionalists who saw in its doctrine of positivistic materialism a threat to traditional, especially religious, values. This gave rise to a clear division between supporters and opponents of the new doctrine.

The initially precarious foothold which science was able to establish in Spain was on ground prepared largely by the philosophy of Krausism. This doctrine, based on the principle of 'harmonic rationalism', began to take root in Spain in the mid 1850s. It enjoyed particular favour between 1868 and 1874, when it came as near as a philosophy can come to achieving official recognition from the powers-that-be. Although Krausism continued to accord a place to speculative deduction and had a developed metaphysical dimension, the principles which it embodied were in significant respects not dissimilar from those of the new science. Krausism, like science, placed great emphasis on methodological rigour and discipline of thought. The methods which it favoured for the asquisition of knowledge were not incompatible with those of empirical scientific investigation. In its rejection of pure, abstract reasoning in favour of an approach which took into account the ontological status of things animate and inanimate, it pre-figured, at least superficially, the precepts of scientific positivism. It also incorporated a perspective which the modern reader readily recognises as anthropological or psychological in nature. It is, however, possible that Krausism came to provide

the philosophical bridge over which scientific ideas entered Spain more as a result of its genealogy than of its principles. Krausism originated in Germany. This freed it from many of the ideological taboos and other obstacles to progressive thought which dogged indigenous Spanish philosophy. It also meant that it derived its essential character from a far more emancipated intellectual tradition, one indeed, which had embraced the cause of science and had been responsible for some of its greatest achievements in the nineteenth century. It is natural that Spanish Krausists should have developed a sincere interest in German experimental science:

> There was a desire to know more about the work of the cultivators of inductive and experimental science like Helmholtz, Wundt, Moleschott, Virchow, Fechner and especially Haeckel. Spanish interest in the theory of evolution derived from the latter's comments on Darwin rather than directly from the English naturalist. Articles on scientific subjects published during the revolutionary period from 1868 to 1874 give us hints of the subtle change that took place in Spain's intellectual climate as the last quarter of the nineteenth century began. Rationalist philosophy and dedication to deductive science - Wissenschaft - were giving ground to positivism and the consequent enthusiasm for experimental and inductive science (14).

German influence was, then, a significant factor determining entry of true scientific values into Spain. Sanz del Río was the first Krausist to champion German thought in Spain, although the contribution of the Cuban, José del Perojo y Figueras, was probably more effective in practical terms. Perojo had studied at Heidelberg University under Kuno Fischer, who reinterpreted the teachings of Kant from a more positivistic standpoint. His belief that philosophy cannot be meaningful without science was publicised in Spain, primarily as a result of his association with

the Revista Europea and the Revista Contemporánea in the 1870's and '80's.

The overlap which gradually developed between Krausism and scientific positivism may hold the explanation as to why, after the mid 1880's, it becomes somewhat difficult for a modern reader to distinguish Krausists from representatives of the new science. Nicolás Salmerón, for example, translated and wrote the preface to the 1902 Spanish translation of Max Nordau's controversial psychopathological study of modern literature entitled Entartung (1893). The literary critic Urbano González Serrano adopted a style which on occasions is difficult to tell apart from the work of the psychologist - critics to be examined shortly. On a formal level at least, the coincidence was virtually complete.

By the winter of 1875 to 1876, the new philosophy of scientific positivism had become the theme of debate in the Ateneo de Madrid, and a number of articles on the subject appeared in contemporary reviews. By 1880, it was clear that the new ideas had won support among the younger generation. Particular interest was shown in the evolutionary theories expounded by Herbert Spencer, which exemplified a strictly empirical approach to the acquisition of knowledge (15). Evidence drawn from the same period, demonstrates that the controversy which the new science had engendered in Spain had already spread beyond specialist and academic circles, and was becoming subject to increasing popularisation and even vulgarisation. Literature offers examples of this. Even before Spanish Naturalism had emerged as a recognisable literary movement, authors had acknowledged in their creations the topicality of the confrontation between the enthusiastic supporters of the new science, with their cult of progress, and the suspicious tradition-

alists, who saw the values they held dear under threat. Stereotyped characters depicting the respective attitudes also appeared in novels of the time, often incorporating an element of parody or caricature. Galdós's Doña Perfecta, serialised in 1876, and Pereda's De tal palo, tal astilla (1879) are cases in point. Doubtless the process of general diffusion was also aided by the appearance of new inventions and the practical application of new discoveries in the fields of technology and medicine, which would have impressed the nation as they had elsewhere in Europe and America.

In conclusion, the contribution of those who sought to advance the new science in Spain deserves mention. Where the doctrine met with acceptance among those best fitted to expound it, the results were exceptionally positive. Sympathisers responded to the challenge of implementing new possibilities with singular effectiveness, and many of the enthusiastic importers of scientific innovations were themselves responsible for some of the more memorable scientific achievements in nineteenth-century Spain. Scientific medicine has a particularly good record in this respect. Posterity has acknowledged the international standing of Santiago Ramón y Cajal, but has somewhat unfairly chosen to overlook figures such as Federico Rubio, Aureliano Maestre de San Juan, Leopoldo López García and Vicente Peset Cervera, all of whom contributed to the revolution in Spanish medicine between the mid 1870's and the end of the century (16). As regards developments more directly relevant to the present chapter, new psychological and anthropological theories (in particular those of the Italian school) were diffused in the context of legal medicine and criminology by Rafael Salillas and Pedro Dorado, and with respect to culture and art by,

among others, Pompeyo Gener (17).

II. CESARE LOMBROSO AND 'L'UOMO DI GENIO'

1. Lombroso in Spain

The contemporary father-figure, though certainly not the originator, of the psychopathological study of artists was the Italian, Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909). The nature and scope of his work caused his name to become associated with many branches of scientific study: psychology and psychiatry, anthropology, phrenology, legal medicine and criminology. Lombroso's theory of the connection between genius and insanity was developed over a period of almost 45 years, between 1864 and 1908. This process of elaboration started with a preliminary study, Genio e follia, which evolved through six revised editions (18). For the purposes of this study, reference will be made to the English translation of the fifth edition (19). The essence of Lombroso's thesis was that the psychology of the 'man of genius' was similar to that of the criminal and the mental defective. Lombroso was well known in Spain as a criminologist (20), but standard bibliographies make no mention of any translation of his study of 'genius'. This work probably became known to Spanish readers either directly through the French translation of 1889 (21) or indirectly through the medium of critical reviews and articles. The latter included a series written by Emilia Pardo Bazán during 1894 and published subsequently under the title of La nueva cuestión palpitante. In a chapter entitled 'El error capital de Lombroso', the authoress referred to a study by Lombroso which she called Los genios, but it is not clear from the context whether this was a Spanish translation. Attention was also drawn to Lombroso's theories by the dedication

to the Italian psychologist which appeared in a study which was widely known in Spain even before it was translated into Spanish in 1902: Max Nordau's Entartung.

Evidence tends to suggest, therefore, that the absence of Spanish versions of Lombroso's studies of genius did not significantly hinder the diffusion of his ideas, which encountered other means of transmission. Moreover, the Italian enjoyed a reputation as a scientist of considerable standing and prestige. This alone was sufficient to ensure the transmission of his theories via means of diffusion guaranteed to reach a wide and varied audience. Luis Maristany has suggested as much in respect of Lombroso's reputation as a criminologist:

> El prestigio científico y, sobre todo, la popularidad que en toda Europa (incluida España) alcanzó a fines del siglo el Dr. Lombroso - nombre hoy ya sólo identificable entre los iniciados en cuestiones de criminología - son de por sí un dato elocuente de la avidez y de la polvareda polémica que suscitaban estos temas en su tiempo. Lombroso pretendió haber descubierto los caracteres físicos del criminal nato. Esta sensacional revelación se filtró muy pronto del libro científico al periódico diario (22).

The interest that Lombroso's pronouncements in general inspired, then, was a result of their controversial nature.

2. The symptoms of literary genius

We can now turn to examine the image of Baudelaire presented in Lombroso's study.

In the fourth chapter of the first part of the book, entitled 'Genius and insanity', Baudelaire was cited as an example of a 'man of genius' who exhibited symptoms found in the mentally ill. The section, which includes a photograph, is fairly brief and

merits quotation in full:

> Baudelaire appears before us, in the portrait placed at the beginning of his posthumous works, as the type of the lunatic possessed by the Délire des grandeurs. He was descended from a family of insane and eccentric persons. It was not necessary to be an alienist to detect his insanity. In childhood he was subject to hallucinations; and from that period, as he himself confessed, he experienced opposing sentiments; the horror and the ecstasy of life; he was hyperaesthetic and at the same time apathetic; he felt the necessity of freeing himself from 'an oasis of horror in a desert of ennui'. Before falling into dementia he committed impulsive acts; for instance, he threw pots from his house against shop windows for the pleasure of hearing them break. He changed his lodgings every month; asked the hospitality of a friend in order to complete work he was engaged on, and wasted his time in reading which had no relation to it whatsoever. Having lost his father, he quarrelled with his mother's second husband, and one day, in the presence of friends, attempted to strangle him. Sent out to India, in order, it is said, to be put to business, he lost everything and only brought back from his voyage a negress to whom he dedicated exotic poems. He desired to be original at all costs; gave himself to excesses in wine before high personnages, dyed his hair green, wore winter garments in summer, and vice versa. He experienced morbid passions in love. He loved ugly and horrible women, negresses, dwarfs, giantesses; to a very beautiful woman he expressed a desire that he might see her suspended by the hands to the ceiling that he might kiss her feet; and kissing the naked foot appears in one of his poems as the equivalent of the sexual act.
>
> He was constantly dreaming of work, calculating the hours and the lines necessary to pay his debts; two months or more. But that was all, and the work was never begun.
>
> Proud, misanthropic, and apathetic, he said of himself:
>
> 'Discontented with others and discontented with myself, I desire to redeem myself, to regard myself with a little pride in the silence and solitude of the night. Souls of those I have loved, souls of those I have sung, strengthen me, sustain me, remove me from the lies and the corrupting vapours of the world; and thou, O Lord my God, grant me grace to produce some fine lines which will prove to myself that I am not the last of men, that I am not inferior to those whom I condemn'.

> And he had need of it, for he called Gustave Planche imbecile, Dumas a farceur, Sue stupid, Feval an idiot, George Sand a Veuillot without delicacy. What he attacked in all these writers was the fame he wished to possess; that is why he made fun of Molière and Voltaire.
>
> With the progress of insanity he used to invert words, saying 'shut' when he meant 'open', &c. He died of progressive general paralysis of the insane, of which his excessive ambition was already a fore-running symptom (The Man of Genius pp. 69-72).

The modern reader will perhaps be struck by the way in which certain terms relative to human behavioural attitudes: 'eccentric', 'apathetic', 'impulsive', 'original', 'proud', 'misanthropic', which are not considered to be the property of scientific language, seemingly became, in the context of the psychologist's account, suspiciously symptomatic of disorders of the psyche, and thus infused with specific technical connotations. This was the result of their having been assimilated into a body of knowledge regarding the nature and functioning of the human mind which held what in the present day and age would be a disturbingly clear-cut and narrow concept of psychological health and normal behaviour. Lombroso's interpretation of Baudelaire's comportment lent a rather sinister aspect to ways of acting and manifestations of taste, which today, even if they were not shared or approved of, would nevertheless appear quite innocent. Yet the Italian anthropologist took for granted their symptomatic value and in so doing was drawing upon the legacy bequeathed to psychology by the Theory of Evolution.

Attention may also be drawn to the impunity with which Lombroso assumed poetry to be biographically accurate, and so treated it as documentary evidence to support his theorising. This is not in itself unjustifiable, yet it does reveal a methodological weakness. The Italian was prepared to base his case on data which

was rather less reliable than the methodological tradition to which he belonged would have demanded. This is equally true in respect of the other material which the footnotes accompanying the passage on Baudelaire revealed him to have consulted: two articles by Fernand Brunetière and Maxime du Camp's Souvenirs littéraires (Paris 1882-83) (23). Other information is clearly culled from Crépet. Lombroso had thus made his observations at second hand, taking data from sources which were coloured by personal prejudice and largely composed of anecdote and reminiscence. The fallibility of evidence can have no clearer illustration than in Lombroso's repetition of a biographical inaccuracy committed by du Camp, namely, the belief that Baudelaire had brought a Negress back with him from his voyage to the Indies (24). One is led to the conclusion that Lombroso eagerly seized upon the evidence he wished to find without verifying its exactitude. The impression is that in surveying documentary evidence he was not undertaking an impartial search for data from which to infer conclusions subsequently, but merely seeking to confirm his own preconceived suspicions.

3. The psychopathology of 'Spleen'

The meaning of the 'symptoms' attributed to Baudelaire can be elucidated by reference to explanations of their significance within contemporary psychology, which are provided elsewhere in The Man of Genius. The first of these, the Délire des grandeurs from which Baudelaire was said to suffer was, according to Lombroso, a latent form of neurosis and insanity, and consisted in attributing a disproportionate value to the particular activity one exercised.

Perhaps of greater significance are the phenomena of hyperaesthesia, originality and apathy (Folie de doute) since they are all involved in Lombroso's explanation of the melancholy or malaise customarily exhibited by 'men of genius'. Speaking of the characteristics of degeneration exhibited by such individuals, Lombroso stated that there was ample biographical evidence to suggest that 'men of genius' differ from 'ordinary men' by virtue of an exquisite or even perverted sensibility:

> The savage and the idiot feel physical pain very feebly; they have few passions, and they only attend to the sensations which concern more directly the necessities of existence. The higher we rise in the moral scale, the more sensibility increases; it is highest in great minds, and is the source of their misfortunes as well as their triumphs. They feel and notice more things, and with greater vivacity and tenacity than other men; their recollections are richer and their mental combinations more fruitful. Little things, accidents that ordinary people do not see or notice, are observed by them, brought together in a thousand ways which we call creations, and which are only binary and quarternary combinations of sensations (pp. 26-27).

This affords an excellent example of evolutionary morality at work. The overt allusion to a 'moral scale', the polarised distinctions between 'great minds' and the 'savage and the idiot' and 'ordinary people', are both indicative of the equation of civilisation with the production of the upper reaches of evolutionary development. Lombroso's reference to the connection of hyperaesthesia with 'misfortunes' prefigured an explanation of the melancholy associated with 'genius'. He argued that exaggerated sensibility leads to a tendency to be easily offended, to misinterpret others' behaviour, and hence to develop persecution and guilt complexes, which are ironically confirmed by the heightened

capacity for rationalisation characteristic of a 'superior intellect'. He added that this superior intellectual power allows 'men of genius' to discern truths different from those held by the majority, and that the consequent awareness of the discrepancy between their own beliefs and those held by the majority leads to a sense of alienation.

A continuation of the theme of intellectual alienation as a component of the melancholy characteristic of the 'man of genius' is to be found in Lombroso's examination of originality. This, according to the psychologist, was the feature which distinguished 'genius' from 'talent', the latter signifying adeptness at re-using existing intellectual or artistic formulae. In this instance, Lombroso's proof was the presence of originality, albeit of an aimless kind, in some lunatics. Alienation ensued because the 'man of genius' was misunderstood by the masses who tended to reject, scorn and isolate him because he was different.

More concrete references were made to Baudelaire's particular originality elsewhere in the study:

> Poe's compositions (says Baudelaire, one of his greatest admirers) seem to have been produced in order to show that strangeness may enter into the elements of the beautiful.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Baudelaire himself created the prose poem, and carried to the highest point the adoration of artificial beauty. He was the first to find new associations in the olfactory sense (p. 318).

A number of other instances in which elements related to the general theme of originality were developed and exemplified by reference to Baudelaire. One of these elements was the special style of composition characteristic of each 'man of genius':

> These morbid geniuses have a style particular to themselves - passionate, palpitating, vividly coloured - which distinguishes them from all other writers, perhaps because it could only arise under maniacal influences. So much so that all of them confess their inability to compose, or even think, outside the moments of inspiration (p. 318).

By way of illustration, Lombroso added:

> Perhaps it was this analogy in character and style that was the cause of Swift's and Rousseau's predilection for Tasso, and drew the severe Haller towards Swift; while Ampère was inspired by Rousseau's eccentricities, and Baudelaire by those of Poe (whose works he translated) and of Hoffman, whom he idolized.

Another feature related to originality by virtue of its particularity to 'men of genius' and its contribution to their alienation was that of 'eccentricity'.

> The principal trace of the delusions of great minds is found in the very construction of their works and speeches, in their illogical deductions, absurd contradictions, and grotesque and inhuman fantasies (p. 322).

Once again Baudelaire provided a prime example:

> Baudelaire finds the sublime in the artificial - 'like the rouge which enhances the beauty of a handsome woman'. He carries out an insane idea by describing a metallic landscape, with neither water nor vegetation. All is rigid, polished, shining; without heat and without sun; in the midst of the eternal silence the blue water is enclosed, like the ancient mirrors, in a golden basin. He finds his ideal in the Latin of the Decadence, 'the only tongue which can thoroughly render the language of passion', and adores cats to such a degree as to address three poems to them (25).

The triangle of forces underlying the melancholy of the 'man of genius' was completed in Baudelaire by the characteristic of apathy. This, according to Lombroso, was one of a

number of related afflictions known generically as Folie de doûte, which in its turn, was considered to be one form of the forms of melancholy habitual in 'men of genius'. By Folie de doûte it seems that Lombroso was referring to the way in which an over-active mind which envisages all kinds of obstacles to the realisation of an intention, and so frustrates the will to act, leading to a sense of futility and impotence. This effect, it was stated, was more poignant in 'men of genius' because whereas in the insane person Folie de doute produced inactivity or delirium, in the genius it prefigured a crisis of consciousness. Lombroso explained that in precise terms the tension between the desire to act and the failure to do so, might take the form of an inability to reconcile the ideal world with the real physical or material one, or to find appropriate ways to exteriorise and express insights. Whence the incapability, frequent in 'men of genius', of handling practical affairs.

As has been shown, Lombroso understood melancholy to manifest itself in a variety of ways and to stem from multiple origins. His concluding explanation of the malaise of the 'man of genius' helped to put this diversity into perspective and so offered a more satisfactory account of the source of the melancholy inherent in his subjects:

> But the principal cause of their melancholy and their misfortunes is the law of dynasism which rules the nervous system. To an excessive expenditure and development of nervous force succeeds reaction or enfeeblement. It is permitted to no-one to expend more than a certain quantity of force without being severely punished on the other side: that is why men of genius are so unequal in their productions. Melancholy, depression, timidity, egoism, are the prices of the sublime gifts of the intellect, just as uterine

> catarrhs, impotence, and tabes dorsalis are the prices of sexual abuse, and gastritis of abuse of appetite (pp. 30-31).

The idea that what is gained on the evolutionary roundabout is lost on the evolutionary swings was a fundamental tenet of Lombroso's theory. In the introduction to the study, he inferred that it was this very notion which underlay the circumstances under which 'genius' arose, and caused it to have the same origin as the insanity of degenerates:

> But recent teratologic researches, especially those of Gegenbauer, have shown that the phenomena of atavistic retrogression do not always indicate true degeneration, but that very often thay are simply a compensation for considerable development and progress accomplished in other directions. Reptiles have more ribs than we have; quadrupeds and apes possess more muscles than we do, and an entire organ, the tail, which we lack. It has been in losing these advantages that we have gained our intellectual superiority (pp. x-xi).

This notion of compensation seems to have been quite popular at the time among followers of the Theory of Evolution. For example, Santiago Ramón y Cajal, who disagreed with Lombroso on the moral implications of the artist being lower down the evolutionary scale, also resorted to it to explain the contradictions, polarities, or 'la doble manifestación del sentimiento' in the consciousness of modern artists in his essay La psicología de los artistas (1902) (26):

> Cada cual finge lo que necesita por compensación de lo que tiene. De esta manera la vida mental se integra y completa, y todos los órganos cerebrales entran sucesivamente en el juego (pp. 120-21).

It is precisely this notion of compensation that Lombroso resorted to, to justify and to give perspective to his study. He seemed

to be at pains to point out that the connection of genius and insanity in no way implied an attempt to debase the former. He was merely stating an objectively, impartially observed, similarity found in biological fact. If this is to be believed, and if his attitude was genuinely impartial, it is this that differentiates him from some of his disciples who will be studied below. The question of his attitude to 'genius' will be examined shortly within the context of his intellectual and moral background.

4. Epilepsy, inspiration and 'Idéal'

Lombroso's observation that melancholy and spiritual disquiet had been throughout history and continued to be endemic in gifted individuals, including practitioners of the arts, may have led some of his nineteenth-century readers to recall the mal du siècle, which had persistently found expression in literature during their own times, even if they did not share the Italian's perception of his subjects or their 'symptoms'. This may not, however, have been the only point on which the same readers would have been able to detect a coincidence between the characteristics of 'genius' as identified by Lombroso and traits which they would have been capable of recognising as typical of the literature of the last half of the nineteenth-century.

To appreciate this, one needs to look no further than Lombroso's interpretation of the phenomenon of inspiration. The psychologist considered the sudden, vivid blossoming of thought or creative energy to which the term is applied to be a result of the process of thought formation peculiar to 'men of genius'. He described this process as 'unconscious cerebration'. It began,

according to Lombroso, with the action of sensations upon the 'man of genius'' delicate sensibility, which brought about the conception of embryonic ideas. These were incubated until they reached a point at which they burst forth into the consciousness. Lombroso had recourse to this sudden flowering of insight to explain the characteristic features of the state of inspiration: impulsive behaviour, the impression that the 'man of genius' is possessed by an external power, and even, when the experience was extraordinarily intense, hallucinations.

This essentially descriptive account of inspiration, however, merely prefigured a far more radical contention which lay at the very heart of Lombroso's theory of the connection between the 'man of genius' and the victim of degenerative insanity. This was the belief that 'the creative power of genius may be a form of psychosis belonging to the family of the epileptic afflictions' (p. 336). Lombroso encountered a prime incentive to advance this theory in the results of recent studies on the physiological origins of epilepsy. These supported positively previously unsubstantiated suspicions that the afflic tion was a form of degeneration. To then propose that 'genius' was a form of epilepsy was facilitated by Lombroso's discovery that symptoms of this pathological condition were frequently found in 'men of genius'. Lombroso was particularly intrigued by the fact that 'that effective insensibility, that loss of moral sense, common to all men of genius' (p. 337), was also a characteristic symptom displayed by epileptics.

What most served to convince Lombroso of the epileptoid nature of 'genius', however, was the frequency with which the condition was found among 'men of genius'. This enabled him to realise the

resemblance of the state of inspiration to an attack of epilepsy. The only difference he saw was in how the seizure manifested itself:

> To those acquainted with the so-called binominal or serial law, according to which no phenomenon occurs singly - each one being, on the contrary, the expression of a series of less well-defined but analogous facts - such frequent occurrence of epilepsy among the most distinguished of distinguished men can but indicate a greater prevalence of this disease among men of genius than was previously thought possible, and suggests the hypothesis of the epileptoid nature of genius itself.
>
> In this connection, it is important to note how, in these men, the convulsion made its appearance but rarely in the course of their lives. Now it is well known that, in such cases, the psychic equivalent (here the exercise of creative power) is more frequent and intense (p. 338).

The diagnosis which Lombroso made of Baudelaire clearly invited the poet to be included in this category. In the first place, the number of anecdotal illustrations which Lombroso provided of Baudelaire's 'impulsiveness' and 'instinctiveness', foremost among the symptoms of epilepsy, suggest that the psychologist accorded a particular significance to this trait. Secondly, a number of other symptoms which the Italian had identified as occurring both in 'men of genius' and epileptics were attributed to Baudelaire: hallucinations, deviation from normal sexual behaviour, and insanity in parents and forebears. Furthermore, an attentive reader of Lombroso who was also familiar with Baudelaire's life and works, may have noted a coincidence between other symptoms of epilepsy described by the psychologist and aspects of Baudelaire's psychology: a propensity to suicide, religious consciousness, morbid phobias, fears and obsessions,

a double personality and a passion for wandering. If, however, we consider L'uomo di genio from the point of view of its value to contemporary readers as an interpretation of Baudelaire's psychology, what is most intriguing in Lombroso's comparison of symptoms, is the degree to which the accounts of inspiration chosen to illustrate the epileptoid characteristics of genius, tally with the description which Baudelaire himself provided of the experience of Idéal , in particular that given in the opening section of Les Paradis artificiels. Both the testimonies chosen by the Italian and that provided by the French poet depict the state of 'inspiration' as one of expanded consciousness, mystic almost, in which the individual experiences a sense of harmony and plenitude beyond compare, feeling himself to have achieved ultimate certainty. They also concur in respect of the involuntary nature of inspiration. It appears as a force which takes possession of the artist independently of his own volition and often when he least expects it. Furthermore, the state of mind it induces is comparable to that to be achieved through taking drugs or alcohol. Above all, however, the beatific sensation which it engenders renders the artist indifferent to its moral origins or consequences. The response of the 'man of genius' which Lombroso recorded coincided exactly with the declaration made by Baudelaire in respect of beauty in 'Hymne à la Beauté' (OC, 54):

> Que tu viennes du ciel ou de l'enfer, qu'importe,
> O Beauté! Monstre énorme, effrayant, ingénu!
> Si ton oeil, ton souris, ton pied, m'ouvrent la porte
> D'un infini que j'aime et n'ai jamais connu?

De Satan on de Dieu, qu'importe? Ange ou Sirène,
Qu'importe, si tu rends - feé aux yeux de velours,
Rhythme, parfum, lueur, ô mon unique reine! -
L'univers moins hideux et les instants moins lourds?

The existence of coincidences between Baudelaire's description of Idéal and similar testimonies quoted by Lombroso as evidence for his propositions could, therefore, have facilitated further application of the Italian's theories to those aspects of the poet's psychology which had only received passing mention during explicit discussion of Baudelaire. As a consequence, this may have reinforced Lombroso's analysis of the poet.

5. Deviant sexuality, alcoholism and hereditary madness

What Lombroso referred to as Baudelaire's 'morbid passions in love' (p. 70) stand alongside a number of deviations from the sexual norm which the psychologist considered to typify both 'men of genius' and the insane. Although this characteristic may appear at first sight to indicate the moral insanity common to epileptics, Lombroso in fact classified it as a manifestation of neurosis and insanity, as was also Baudelaire's alcoholism. The diminished moral sense of the epileptic was, in the Italian's view, a loss of affectivity, involving extreme insensitivity to or disregard for other human beings, leading to neglect and, on occasions, abuse and cruelty.

The significance of the fact that Baudelaire was descended from 'a family of insane and eccentric persons' (p. 70) is to be explained by the influence upon Lombroso of evolutionary thinking on heredity, and more particularly, the theory of degeneration.

Although the Italian disputed that the incidence of inherited characteristics of genius was as high as that of hereditary insanity, as Galton and Ribot's studies had inferred, he did not consider that this detracted from the feasibility of his own theory:

> The parallelism of genius to insanity, is however, still present. We find that many lunatics have parents of genius, and that many men of genius have parents or sons who were epileptic, mad, or, above all, criminal (p. 145).

6. Iconoclasm or impartiality?

In the preceding sections we have examined the diagnostic portrait of Baudelaire which Lombroso offered in his study, and examined the significance in terms of nineteenth-century psychological thought of the symptoms identified in the poet. One cannot fully appreciate the possible impact of this image however, without looking beyond the purely factual level to investigate the light in which Lombroso's exposé invited Baudelaire, and indeed the other 'men of genius' discussed in the book, to be seen. Any attempt to ascertain the spirit in which the psychologist elaborated his theories must begin by asking what motives prompted Lombroso to undertake the study. Certainly, his interpretation of the origins of 'genius' readily lays itself open to the charge of iconoclasm. This ensues partly from the fact that the issue was approached from a scientific angle. The nineteenth century was not the first to express an interest in the nature of 'genius', as the psychologist himself noted. Yet once the theme became the object of scientific scrutiny, the new-found attention ceased simply to be a question of a new perspective on an old theme. The subject of 'genius' joined the ranks of other traditional presuppositions and conceptions which the new empirical science had dutifully and mercilessly put to the

test. Science itself, then, may have appeared from some angles to be primarily a force of iconoclasm. A second reason why Lombroso's theories may have been seen as fundamentally destructive stems from the challenge they posed to the respect which the qualities of spirit comprising 'genius' had traditionally enjoyed. It may have been thought that Lombroso had simply used his scientific expertise to provide a pretext to wage a personal crusade against that sector of the community defined as 'men of genius'.

The evidence of Lombroso's motives which can be encountered in the study, tends, however, to dispel any suggestion that the psychologist was intending to present 'genius' in an unfavourable light. Indeed, integrity seems to have been one of his principal concerns. On the one hand, he was clearly aware that he was broaching a delicate issue with far-reaching cultural implications, all the more because his selection of 'men of genius' extended to the great figures of history and of the contemporary scene: men of the arts, scientists, statesmen and even founders of religion (27). Beyond this consideration, however, Lombroso was motivated by a sincere obligation to science. In the introduction to the book the psychologist declared that once he had overcome his own irrational reluctance to accept the idea that 'genius' might be a form of degeneration, and when scientific advances had provided a sound basis of evidence on which to advance the hypothesis, he positively saw it as his duty as a scientist with an interest in the theme to pursue the issue, regardless of the consequences for traditional presuppositions:

> It is a sad mission to cut through and destroy with the scissors of analysis the delicate and irridescent veils with which our proud mediocrity clothes itself. Very terrible is the

> religion of truth. The physiologist is not afraid to reduce love to a play of stamens and pistils, and thought to a molecular movement (p. 2).

Beyond Lombroso's unquestionable respect for the mission of science, however, he made efforts to dispel the impression that his purpose was to denigrate 'genius', or that his theories should be understood as a basis on which to do so. He presented the parity between 'genius' and insanity as a fact of evolutionary biology, and used the notion of compensation on which he based his theory to illustrate the ideological neutrality which he professed. The Italian took the opportunity offered by his explanation of why human beings lacked strengths present in certain species of the animal kingdom to clarify that the characteristics of degeneration present in 'men of genius' did not indicate inferiority, but were merely the result of the evolutionary play-off of one class of attributes against another:

> It has been in losing these advantages that we have gained our intellectual superiority. When this is seen, the repugnance to the theory of genius as degeneration at once disappears. Just as giants pay a heavy ransom for their stature in sterility and relative muscular and mental weakness, so the giants of thought expiate their intellectual force in degeneration and psychoses. It is thus that the signs of degeneration are found more frequently in men of genius than even in the insane (pp. v-vi).

Nevertheless, the possibility should not be discounted that Lombroso's analysis of the psychology of the 'man of genius' could have been viewed as an act of derogation, regardless of the Italian's true intentions and the measures he took (if indeed they should truly be considered as such), to make them apparent. It may be thought, for example, that he was rather tactless in his

use of terms which might have been construed as value judgements. To refer to the symptoms of degeneration found in 'genius' as defects, or to suggest that they resulted from a lack of equilibrium clearly invite such qualities to be seen as undesirable, and not simply as accidents of biology exempt from measurement against moral criteria.

Still more disturbing in this respect, however, is the impunity with which the Italian psychologist had recourse in his description of 'genius' to a moral scale which could not fail to depict this faculty in a derogatory light. We refer here to Lombroso's clear distinction between the normal and the abnormal. This belief can be seen above all in Lombroso's refusal to accept 'genius' as merely an exaggeration of normal human faculties. For him it constituted disproportionate development in one direction, whence his declaration that 'the true normal man is not the man of letters or of learning, but the man who works and eats' (p. ix). A surprisingly rigid definition of 'normality' is in fact to be encountered in the study. Speaking of a number of individuals whose achievements justified their classification as 'men of genius', but who nevertheless displayed none of the symptoms of degeneration, Lombroso stated that:

> Each one of these showed, by the ample volume and at the same time the symmetrical proportion of the skull, force of intellect restrained by the calm of the desires. Not one of them allowed his great passion for truth and beauty to stifle the love of family and country. They never changed their faith or character, never swerved from their aim, never left their work half completed. What assurance, what faith, what ability they showed in their understandings; and, above all, what moderation and unity of character they preserved in their lives! Though they, too, had to experience -

> after undergoing the sublime paroxysm of inspiration - the torture inflicted by ignorant hatred, and the discomfort of uncertainty and exhaustion, they never, on that account, deviated from the straight road. They carried out to the end the one cherished idea which formed the aim and purpose of their lives, calm and serene, never complaining of obstacles, and falling into but a few mistakes - mistakes which, in lesser men, might even have passed for discoveries (p. 353).

Lombroso's belief that a clear distinction existed between normal and abnormal psychology is evident from the inflexibly, almost simplistically precise description of normal behaviour which this quotation provides. On closer examination, however, it becomes clear that it is not the distinction, nor even the rigid, exclusive definition of mental equilibrium which lend the most negative connotations to Lombroso's interpretation of the psychology of the 'man of genius', but the nature of the terms employed in the definition. The Italian could have taken advantage of the sound physiological basis which psychology had developed, and which he had used to good effect elsewhere, to portray normality in an objective way. Yet he chose to characterise it with reference to behavioural qualities and intellectual virtues whose significance is more readily defined in terms of emotive moral values: loyalty to one's country and family, consistency and constancy, assiduity and perseverance, moderation, restraint and equilibrium of the faculties. These characteristics represented the embodiment, in behavioural terms, of the moral precepts which had traditionally influenced establishment thought. To invoke them in the context of the study could not fail to invite the opinion that the 'man of genius' was a moral renegade incapable of respecting the codes

to which society adhered. Indeed, a number of references to the place of the 'man of genius' in society seem to positively encourage the reader to think in these terms. In the introduction to the study, for example, Lombroso declared that 'men of genius are lacking in tact, in moderation, in the sense of practical life, in the virtues which are alone recognised as real and which alone are useful in social affairs' (p. x).

7. Reaction to Lombroso in Spain

Because the conclusions Lombroso drew regarding 'men of genius' lay open to interpretation in a way that would have been detrimental to the reputation of anyone who might be included in this category, one might be led to imagine that Baudelaire's traditionalist opponents would have welcomed the study as a contribution, albeit by different means, to their own critical cause. This was not, however, the case. Lombroso's ideas met with vehement opposition from this quarter, where he seems to have been considered as ideologically reprehensible as those contemporary writers whose art was deemed to pose a threat to traditional values. One explanation for this reaction is the ease with which the study could be interpreted as being biased against 'men of genius', as has been indicated above. The upholders of traditional values were evidently aware of this possibility, or, more precisely, of the dangers inherent in it. Indeed, the cause of their concern was not Lombroso's theory itself, but that it could all too easily serve as a basis upon which individuals of a subversive or iconoclastic disposition could launch an attack against one of the foundations upon which the intellectual power structure which it suited the

traditionalists to maintain, rested. It was this point of view that Emilia Pardo Bazán advanced in La nueva cuestión palpitante:

> No es funesto Lombroso porque tira de la manta; lo es porque su sistema, aunque desprovisto de fundamento, ofrece asidero cómodo a la insolente demagogia, y es un arsenal donde pueden surtirse de hachas, picas y puñales los jacobinos de nuevo cuño. Las teorías de Lombroso, que siempre la multitud ha de tomar por donde más quemen, sirven para que unos cuantos pretendan allanar el mundo de la inteligencia y de la acción, convirtiéndole en plantel de orondas calabazas (CC, III, 1172).

This quotation also suggests, however, that Emilia Pardo Bazán viewed Lombroso's theories very much against the background of ideological tensions existing in Spain at the time. She was obviously sensitive to the significance which the study took on within the context of these. Her perception of its impact was conditioned accordingly, as is evident from the concerns which she expressed regarding the use to which it might be put by the 'jacobinos de nuevo cuño'. These fears indicated that the psychologist's conclusions had awakened in the authoress that sense of unease which the traditionalist experiences in the face of forces threatening the survival of established values. Her own ideological affiliations are apparent from the terms in which she explained Lombroso's 'error capital'. It was Pardo Bazán's contention that the Italian had advocated too clear a distinction between sanity and insanity, and had presented an unrealistically restricted picture of normal behaviour. Her view found support in the teachings of the Catholic religion:

> Entre los dogmas de la teología católica, ninguno más filosófico y profundo que el del pecado original y corrupción de la naturaleza humana. Nadie es puro y perfecto; nadie deja

> de estar sujeto a flaquezas y miserias de la voluntad y del entendimiento también. Las diferencias son de grado, y las acentúa o las aminora el poderoso influjo de las circunstancias exteriores (OC, III, 1168).

Similar instances are to be found elsewhere in the sections referring to Lombroso. Their effect is best appreciated when they are examined alongside the propositions they were chosen to support, however, and it would not be in the interest of the present study to undertake an analysis of Pardo Bazán's dialectics at this juncture.

Lombroso's study presented a novel image of Baudelaire. The perspective from which it viewed the poet differed above all from those adopted by other schools of criticism in that it was without precedent among them. Consequently, the Italian psychologist drew attention to aspects of the poet's moral existence not previously considered by non-scientific critics, discovering in them a significance that his background alone allowed him to perceive. He was also able to view some of the characteristics which others had attributed to Baudelaire from a different angle. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that in the section of the book discussing 'demonomania' no reference to the poet is to be found. Given the comparative novelty of this approach, it is somewhat unfortunate that the study failed to reach a position from which to exercise significant influence upon the image of Baudelaire prevalent in Spain during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Whatever popularity L'uomo di genio may have achieved through being controversial, all in all it inspired little sympathy. It met with an unfavourable reaction from one of the principal representatives of a vociferous body of traditional

opinion, Emilia Pardo Bazán; Luis Maristany's declaration that 'El hombre de genio . . . es tal vez la obra más deleznable de Lombroso, la que más le desacreditó' (op. cit. p. 51) indicates that it was unlikely to have been received with enthusiasm anywhere, even in scientific circles. The privilege of publicising in Spain, the kind of image of Baudelaire which Lombroso was originally responsible for presenting, was therefore, left to other psychologists and cultural anthropologists whose work was to achieve a greater diffusion and enjoy a greater potential for fruitful reception in Spain than Lombroso's study of 'genius' had. The theories of a number of these, as well as the contributions of less significant commentators, will be examined in the sections which follow. As far as Lombroso is concerned, however, these writers provided through their work the means by which ideas of the type that he advanced could gain a more secure foothold in Spain, and make a deeper impression upon public consciousness. Working broadly within the same tradition as he had done, they either took up certain aspects of his theory to develop them for their own purpose or adopted standpoints which recall his. At the same time, however, there were dimensions in which their approach differed substantially from Lombroso's. One such facet was their field of study. They abandoned the universal perspective of the Italian to focus exclusively on the psyche of the contemporary artist. This naturally meant that the basic psychological conception of Baudelaire which they had inherited from L'uomo di genio did not survive in their work in its original form. On the one hand, the poet was accorded a more prominent position among the 'subjects' examined. Obviously, his commentators were thereby acknowledging his contribution to

the development of contemporary aesthetics. Yet he also qualified for this special treatment by displaying in significant proportions the symptoms of the range of creative maladies which these studies diagnosed. Their authors no doubt saw his importance in both respects as interrelated. On the other hand, since the studies viewed the artistic sensibility of the time as a departure from psychological configurations conducive to evolutionary progress, Baudelaire largely became the object of disapproval, and even vehement criticism.

III. MAX NORDAU'S 'ENTARTUNG'

'Max Nordau' was the nom de guerre of Max Simon Sudfeld (1849-1923), an Austrian doctor turned social and cultural critic. His socio-anthropological studies enjoyed considerable popularity in Spain for over a quarter of a century. Between 1887 and 1915 at least seven of his works were translated into Spanish, while 1902 saw the publication of his short article 'El modernismo en España y América' (El Nuevo Mercurio, March 1907, pp. 243-44). In 1893 his book Entartung appeared. Of all the psychological studies of 'genius' to become known in Spain, this was to have the greatest and most lasting impact. Although the Spanish translation, bearing the title Degeneración, was not published until 1902, references to the book made before this date suggest that the Spanish intelligentsia had already discovered the work through the French version of 1894 (28). The response which it inspired was probably due less to favourable reception of the ideas which it expounded, than to the engaging dynamism of Nordau's rhetoric and the controversy of his theories. Evidence of this is to be found in the passions which it awoke in commentators of all affiliations, as will be seen below.

Nominally, the study follows in the footsteps of L'uomo di genio, and it was in fact dedicated to Lombroso. Significant differences quickly become apparent, however. Although like his Italian predecessor, Nordau attempted to explain the psychology of 'genius' in terms of the theory of degeneration, the case studies are drawn exclusively from post-Romantic (principally French) literature, and the author's prejudices are at best thinly disguised.

The relevance of Entartung to the present study lies in the detailed and extensive attention which it devoted to Baudelaire, who was clearly accorded a position of some significance with respect to the other 'case histories' chosen. Entartung comprised five 'books', the first four of which dealt each with one particular strain of the degenerative condition identified by Nordau. Baudelaire came under scrutiny in the third of these, which examined the malady of 'ego-mania'. During the course of the analysis, however, the poet was also said to display the characteristics of 'mysticism', a psychosis described at length in the second book. Thus it was that Baudelaire was elected to represent not one but two of the categories of degenerative afflictions discussed in the study. All page references made hereafter refer to the recent English translation of the second German edition (New York. 1968).

1. The psychology of 'ego-mania'

According to Nordau, 'ego-mania' was foremost among a number of phobias, manias and obsessions of degenerative origin which were characteristic of contemporary literary sensibility. Unwilling to foster ambiguities, he distinguished it from its

comparatively innocuous lexical relative 'egoism' in a manner which leaves no doubt as to his attitude to the victim of 'ego-mania':

> Egoism is a lack of amiability, a defect in education, perhaps a fault of character, a proof of insufficiently developed morality, but it is not a disease. . . . The ego-maniac, on the contrary, is an invalid who does not see things as they are, does not understand the world, and cannot take up a right attitude towards it (p. 243).

Nordau described 'ego-mania' as a pathological condition ensuing from arrested development of the consciousness, in which awareness of the self, subconscious in healthy beings, gains ascendence over awareness of all that lays beyond the self - the 'not - I', as Nordau called it. Consequently, he began by explaining at length and in considerable detail how consciousness grew in a healthy human being, stressing at the same time how important it was for society, the individual and the true scientific destiny of mankind, that psychological development should follow its proper course:

> As the formation of an 'I', of an individuality clearly conscious of its separate existence, is the highest achievement of living matter, so the highest degree of development of the 'I' consists in embodying in itself the 'not I', in comprehending the world, in conquering egoism, and in establishing close relations with other beings, things and phenomena. . . . Not till he attains to altruism is man in a condition to maintain himself in society and in nature (pp. 252-53).

For this to happen, it was essential that the process by which primary sensory impulses created by external stimuli were transformed into conscious awareness and ideas should function properly:

> In order that the 'not I' should in this way prevail over the 'I', the sensory nerves must

> properly conduct the external impressions, the cerebral centres of perception must be sensitive to the excitations of the sensory nerves, the highest centres must develop, in a sure, rapid and vigorous manner, the perceptions into ideas, unite these into conceptions and judgements, and, on occasions, transform them into acts of volition and motor impulses (p. 253).

Working from this premise, Nordau explained how anomalies in the nervous system of the ego-maniac hindered this process, thereby making it difficult or even impossible for his brain to formulate a true picture of the outside world. As a result, the sufferer 'scarcely appreciates or even perceives the external world, and is only occupied with organic processes in his own body' (p. 254). The consciousness of the ego-maniac, then, is restricted to 'coenaesthesis' or awareness of the physiological events taking place within his own organism. Consequently, when the ego-maniac also experiences 'an unhealthily modified and intensified vital activity of the organs' (p. 256), sensitivity to the ensuing physiological turmoil blot out the last vestiges of an already enfeebled perception of life beyond the self, creating phobias and obsessions which could only be aggravated by the total absence of will characteristic of the degenerate.

The degenerate behavioural traits which Nordau identified as typical in the ego-maniac were four in number. The first, and 'least objectionable' (p. 258) according to the Austrian, was the disproportionate importance which the ego-maniac attributed to his own activity and sentiments. Originating in the sufferer's exaggerated self-awareness and enfeebled perception of the outside world, this 'absurd exaggeration of one's own preoccupations and interests' (p. 259), as Nordau described it,

had spawned the Parnassians and the Aesthetes. The second was moral madness. A perversion of the natural, healthy instincts and loss of the moral sense often accompanied by a decided predilection for (rather than mere indifference to) evil, this occurred when organs controlling the appetites deviated from the natural laws governing their healthy functioning:

> In perversion of taste the patient seeks greedily to swallow all that ordinarily provokes the deepest repugnance. . . . In perversion of smell he prefers the odours of putrefaction to the perfume of flowers. In perversion of the sexual appetite he has desires which are directly contrary to the purpose of the instinct, i.e. the preservation of the species. In perversion of the moral sense the patient is attracted by, and feels delight in acts which fill the sane man with disgust and horror (pp. 259-60).

The consequences of this affliction were to be in the 'Diaboliques' and the 'Décadents', whom Nordau distinguished from criminals only in that their perversity confined itself to their thoughts and literary works. The third symptom was the inability to experience satisfying or pleasurable states of mind, a phenomenon which Nordau attributed directly to the ego-maniac's impaired perception of the outside world, which greatly reduced his capacity for adaptation: 'The indispensable premise of adaptation is having an exact presentation of the facts to which a man must adapt himself' (p. 261). Nordau reasoned in the following terms:

> The active cause of all adaptation . . . is the wish to satisfy some organic necessity, or to escape from some discomfort. In other words, the aim of adaptation is to give feelings of pleasure, and to diminish or suppress the feelings of discomfort. The being incapable of self-adaptation is for this reason far less able to procure agreeable, and avoid disagreeable, sensations than the normal being. . . . The ego-maniac must, therefore,

> necessarily suffer from the world and from men. Hence at heart he is bad-tempered and turns in wrathful discontent against Nature, society and public institutions, irritated and offended by them, because he does not know how to accommodate himself to them. He is in a constant state of revolt against all that exists, and contrives how he may destroy it, or at least, dreams of destruction (p. 263).

The final characteristic which Nordau identified as typical of 'ego-mania' was the tendency to consider oneself 'above all restraints of morality or law' (p. 265).

2. The malady of 'mysticism'

Deficient perception of the outside world also lay at the root of 'mysticism', another category of degenerative malady ascribed to Baudelaire in Entartung. Nordau understood the symptoms of 'mysticism' to occur as the result of a breakdown in the process of 'conscious intellection', that is, the means by which primary perceptions are translated into clearly discerned, fully developed ideas. In the mystic, as in healthy human beings, the initial stage of conscious perception of an external stimulus was accompanied by the presence of associations gathered from previous experience of the same or similar stimuli. The mystic, however, lacked will-power, and so was unable to focus his attention on the mass of attendant associations sufficiently to grade them according to their relevance to that particular perception of the stimulus

> Attention, therefore, presupposes strength of will, and this, again, is the property only of a normally constituted and unexhausted brain. In the degenerate, whose brain and nervous system are characterised by hereditary malformations or irregularities, the will is entirely lacking, is possessed only in a small degree (p. 56).

As a result, Nordau explained, the mystic perceived a teeming host of undifferentiated mental presentations, all asserting themselves with equal intensity. The inability to place these in relation to each other determined the mystic's peculiar manner of thinking. Every component part of each insight he had appeared to be charged with meaningfulness, yet what this significance actually was, remained elusive enigmatic, intriguingly shrouded in mystery:

> The word describes a state of mind in which the subject imagines that he perceives or divines unknown and inexplicable relations amongst phenomena, discerns in things hints at mysteries, and regards them as symbols, by which a dark power seeks to unveil or, at least, to indicate all sorts of marvels which he endeavours to guess, though generally in vain. This condition of mind is always connected with strong emotional excitement, which consciousness conceives to be the result of its presentiments, although it is this excitement, on the contrary, which is preexistent, while the presentiments are caused by it and receive from it their peculiar direction and colour.
>
> All phenomena in the world and in life present themselves in a different light to the mystic from what they do to the sane man. The simplest word uttered before the former appears to him an allusion to something mysteriously occult; in the most commonplace and natural movements he sees hidden signs. . . . Every image that rises up in his mind points with mysterious silence . . . to other images distinct or shadowy, and induces him to set up relations between ideas, where other people recognise no connection (pp. 45-6).

The Austrian was thus able to suggest that what the mystic considered to be transcendental awareness was in reality a failure to understand what he perceived properly, and thereby gave the lie to the idea that mysticism was a form of superior religious consciousness.

Nordau concluded his analysis of this form of degeneration

with brief discussion of three associated symptoms: 'erotomania', 'revery' and 'echolalia'. The first of these was described as a result of anomalies in the sexual nerve centres, which caused every nerve reaction to be accompanied by some degree of sexual response. The last two were the products of impaired attention, whereby ideas were linked together by means other than logic. 'Revery' was simply undisciplined associationism, while 'echolalia' involved associationism on purely phonic grounds.

3. Baudelaire in 'Entartung'

The treatment accorded to Baudelaire in Entartung was both extensive and detailed. This alone suggests that the poet appeared to Nordau to be extraordinarily representative within the context of the study, as well as making his one of the more memorable case histories discussed. Herein, of course, is to be found clear evidence of the study's importance and significance as an instrument of diffusion for Baudelaire's image in Spain. Yet if one is to appreciate Entartung's full potential in this respect, one must be aware that the invitation extended by the book to see the poet in the terms which it proposed was not confined solely to the pages where he was presented as the example which proved the theory. This becomes clear when one reflects on the content of the chapters of Entartung examined in the preceding sub-sections, where Nordau was engaged solely in providing an account of the nature and symptoms of 'ego-mania' and 'mysticism'. Although at this stage the Austrian refrained from illustrating the characteristic features of the pathological conditions which he was describing with reference to individual writers, it is feasible to suggest that a reader conversant with

Baudelaire's work would have had little difficulty in calling to mind psychological attitudes expressed in Les Fleurs du Mal, the prose poems, the journals and Les Paradis artificiels, which tallied with the behavioural traits described by Nordau in his introductory chapters. Parallels readily invite themselves to be drawn between the more obvious constants of Baudelairian psychology and the species of degenerative affliction described by Nordau. Spleen might conveniently have been interpreted in terms of the ego-maniac's permanent sense of dissatisfaction, while Idéal may have appeared to fall into the category of the delusions of transcendental insight attributed to the mystic. Far more precise analogies are however to be found. The disparaging elitism inherent in Baudelaire's contention that 'Il n'y a pas de grand parmi les hommes que le poëte, le prêtre et le soldat' (OC, 635), while 'Le reste est fait pour le fouet' (OC, 635); the poet's philosophy of dandysm; and his preoccupation with the hallmarks of the superior spirit and the spiritual aristocrat in general, are just three aspects of his intellectual life which lend themselves to be viewed as the attribution of disproportionate importance to his own values and activities. Baudelaire's 'satanism', as well as his supposed predilection for evil, vice and his obsession with sin, could have been seen to exemplify what Nordau called 'moral madness', while an intriguing parallel begs to be drawn between the perpetual frustrated irritation and sombre misanthropy of the ego-maniac, as described by Nordau, and the gnawing, insuperable, cancerous melancholy, 'mécontent de tous et mécontent de moi' ('A une heure du matin', (OC, 154), which pervades Baudelaire's poetry on more than one occasion. The indifference to morality expressed with regard to

the origins of beauty in 'Hymne à la Beauté' (OC, 54) may have suggested that its author was motivated by forces supposedly superior to the predominant moral values of the time and the laws which they generated. As regards Baudelaire's 'mysticism', one may have needed to look no further than 'Correspondances' (OC, 46) or 'Le Confiteor de l'artiste' (OC, 149) to find evidence that the poet qualified for inclusion within this category as Nordau defined it. Finally, the decadent blend of spirituality and sensuality of which Baudelaire was one of the earliest exponents, could have been seen to correspond to the Austrian's account of 'erotomania'. The existence of a significant number of coincidences in this respect could no doubt have been facilitated by the fact that Nordau, and indeed the psychological critics in general, investigated a far wider range of features than critics of other affiliations had done. It is, however, not necessary to have recourse to comparative criteria to appreciate that Nordau mapped contemporary artistic sensibility with a thoroughness unprecedented among the critics who contributed to diffusing the image of Baudelaire in Spain during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The ease with which the reader of Entartung can attribute the symptoms described therein to Baudelaire, even before mention is made of the poet or his psychology, is a revealing indication, not only of how completely the study documented fin-de-siècle psychology, but of how Baudelaire's writings played into the hands of the cartographers of contemporary artistic sensibility. This may explain why the preliminary chapters of the books 'Ego-mania' and 'Mysticism' provide an admirably efficient introduction to the discussion of Baudelaire which was to follow.

Baudelaire first appeared in Entartung as an occasional source of illustration for the characteristic symptoms exhibited by the Parnassians and the Diabolists. The first trait attributed to the former which the poet was invoked to exemplify was the exaggerated importance which these poets attached to their activity:

> The Parnassian theory of art is mere imbecility. But the ego-mania of the degenerate minds who have concocted it reveals itself in the enormous importance they attribute to their hunt for rhymes, to their puerile pursuit of words which are 'tonitruants' and 'rayonnants'. . . . Thus it is that Baudelaire calls Paris 'a Capernaum, a Babel peopled by the imbecile and useless, not over-fastidious in their ways of killing time, and wholly inaccessible to literary pleasures'. To treat as imbecile those who look upon a senseless jumble of rhymes and a litany of so-called beautiful proper names (as in Catulle Mendès' 'Recapitulation') as of no value, is a stupid self-conceit at which one might well laugh. But Baudelaire goes so far as to speak of the 'useless'. No one has a right to live who is inaccessible to what he calls 'literary pleasures' - that is, an idiotic echolalia! Because he cultivates the art of playing on words with a puerile seriousness, everyone must place the same importance as he does on his infantile amusements, and whoever does not do so is not simply a Philistine or an inferior being, without susceptibility or refinement - no, he is a 'useless creature'. If this simpleton had the power, he would no doubt wish to pursue his idea to the end and sweep the 'useless' out of the ranks of the living, as Nero put to death those who did not applaud his acting in the theatre. Can the monstrous ego-mania of one demented be more audaciously expressed than in this remark of Baudelaire's? (pp. 270-71).

The second characteristic of Parnassian poetry which Baudelaire was chosen to exemplify was its 'impassivity'. This Nordau defined as an absence of moral sense or consciousness, whose victims were unable to interpret experiences in moral terms, perceiving only their relative qualities and intensity. It is interesting to note how far Nordau's interpretation of this trait

reflected the significance attributed to it by the Parnassians themselves. The Austrian too considered it in relation to their conception of beauty and the type of consciousness with which this principle was associated. Naturally, this coincidence did not extend to the meaning which the respective parties placed on the trait. For the Parnassian poets, impassivity was the hallmark of elevated consciousness, whose superior concerns existed above the moral considerations which pervaded 'natural' emotional life, in the Baudelairian sense of the word. To Nordau, however, such proud elitism appeared as nothing but the misguided rationalisations of perverse and sick minds. This is apparent in the psychologist's savage dismissal of the case which Baudelaire advanced for a pure, autonomous art unrestricted by moral obligations:

> The indifference which the Parnassians display, and of which they are particularly proud, applies less to the joys and sufferings of their fellow-creatures than to the universally recognised moral law. For them there is neither virtue nor vice, but only the beautiful and the ugly, the rare and the commonplace. . . . Baudelaire justifies it in the following terms:
> 'Poetry . . . has no other aim than itself; it cannot have any other, and no poem will be so great, so noble, so truly worthy of the name of poem, as that which will have been written only for the pleasure of writing a poem. I do not wish to say - be it well understood - that poetry may not ennoble morals, that its final result may not be to raise man above vulgar interests. This would evidently be an absurdity. I say that, if the poet has pursued a moral aim he has diminished his poetical power, and it is not imprudent to wager that his work will be bad. Poetry cannot, under pain of death or degradation, assimilate itself to science or morals. It has not truth for its object, it has only itself'. . . .
> Let us nail here first of all a current sophistical artifice employed by Baudelaire. The question to which he wishes to reply is this: Is poetry to be moral or not? Suddenly he smuggles science, with which it has nothing to

> do, into his demonstration, names it in the same breadth with morality, shows triumphantly that science has nothing in common with poetry, and then acts as though he had demonstrated the same thing on the subject of morality. Now, it does not occur to any reasonable man of the present day to demand of poetry the teaching of scientific truths, and for generations no serious poet has thought of treating of astromony or physics in a didactic poem. The only question which some minds would wish to consider as an open one is that of knowing if we may, or may not, exact of poetry that it be moral, and it is this question that Baudelaire answers by an unproven affirmative, and by a crafty shuffling (pp. 273-74).

Nordau pursued the question of Parnassian 'immorality' further, identifying as another characteristic trait their evident predilection for what was perverse, maleficent or ugly. Nordau once more evoked Baudelaire in illustration of this aspect, and on this occasion came extremely close to resurrecting the image of the poet put forth by the traditionalist critics:

> Baudelaire sings of carrion, maladies, criminals and prostitutes; in short, if one contemplates the world in the mirror of Parnassian poetry, the impression received is that it is composed exclusively of vices, crimes and corruption without the smallest intermixture of healthy emotions, joyous aspects of Nature and human beings feeling and acting honestly. In perpetual contradiction to himself, as becomes a truly degenerate mind, the same Baudelaire, who in one place does not wish poetry to be confounded with morality, says in another place: 'Modern art has an essentially devilish (démoniaque) tendency. And it seems that this infernal side of his nature, which man takes a pleasure of explaining to himself, increases daily, as if the devil amused himself by magnifying it through artificial processes, in imitation of the poultry-farmers, patiently cramming the human species in his hen-yards to prepare for himself a more succulent nourishment'.
>
> There is no indifference here to virtue or vice; it is an absolute predilection for the latter, and aversion for the former. . . . It was wrong, therefore, to think of characterizing them by 'impassibility'. Just as they lack feeling only towards their fellow-creatures,

> and not towards themselves, so they are only cold and indifferent towards, good, not towards evil; the latter attracts them, on the contrary, as forcibly, and fills them as much with feelings of pleasure, as the good attracts and rejoices the sane majority of men (p. 275).

Having surveyed the principle psychological characteristics of the Parnassians, Nordau was ready to bring discussion to a climax with a portrait of the individual whose character synthesised more than that of any other, the mental abberations of these artists. The figure he chose was Baudelaire. The Austrian had already left little doubt as to the antipathy which he felt for the poet, and the account of Baudelaire given at this juncture merely served to confirm this attitude:

> If we exaggerate Théophile Gautier's worship of form and lasciviousness, and if to his indifference towards the world and men we associate the aberration which caused it to degenerate into a predilection for the bad and the loathsome, we have before us the figure of Baudelaire. We must stop there awhile, for Baudelaire is - even more than Gautier - the intellectual chief and model of the Parnassians, and his influence dominates the present generation of French poets and authors, and a portion also of English poets and authors, to an omnipotent degree.
>
> It is not necessary to demonstrate at length that Baudelaire was a degenerate subject. He died of general paralysis, after he had wallowed for months in the lowest depths of insanity. But even if no such horrible end had protected the diagnosis from all attack, there would be no doubt as to its accuracy, seeing that Baudelaire showed all the mental stigmata of degeneration during the whole of his life. He was at once a mystic and an erotomaniac, an eater of hashish and opium; he felt himself attracted in the characteristic fashion by other degenerate minds, mad or depraved, and appreciated, for example, above all authors, the gifted but mentally-deranged Edgar Poe, and the opium-eater Thomas de Quincey. He translated Poe's tales, and devoted to them an enthusiastic biography and critique, while from the Confessions of an Opium-Eater, by de Quincey, he compiled an

> exhaustive selection, to which he wrote extravagant annotations.
>
> The peculiarities of Baudelaire's mind are revealed to us in the collection of his poems, to which he has given a title betraying at once his self-knowledge and his cynicism: Les Fleurs du Mal - 'The Flowers of Evil'. The collection is not complete. There lack some pieces which only circulate in manuscript, because they are too infamous to bear the full publicity of a marketable book (pp. 285-86).

Having introduced Baudelaire, Nordau proceeded to elaborate a catalogue of the poet's degenerative symptoms, which he illustrated with quotations from poems (29). The section opened with discussion of Baudelaire's impeded apprehension of the outside world, whence, according to Nordau, the poet's hate of the natural. It was also characterised by a loss of moral sense resulting in a morbid delight in death, corruption, perversion, crime and the cults of Satan and sensuality. Finally, to this list of peculiarities was added a perpetual sense of anguish and excessive activity of the olfactory sense, the latter characterised by a preference for the odours of decomposition. Having catalogued Baudelaire's vices, Nordau proceeded to draw together the threads of his exposé to pass judgement:

> We now know all the features which compose Baudelaire's character. He has the 'cult of self'; he abhors nature, movement and life; he dreams of an ideal of immobility, of eternal silence, of symmetry and artificiality; he loves disease, ugliness and crime; all his inclinations, in profound aberration, are opposed to those of sane beings; what charms his sense of smell is the odour of corruption; his eye, the sight of carrion, suppurating wounds and the pain of others; he feels happy in muddy, cloudy autumn weather; his senses are excited by unnatural pleasures only. He complains of frightful tedium and of feelings of anguish; his mind is filled with sombre ideas, the association of his ideas works

exclusively with sad or loathsome images; the only thing which can distract or interest him is badness - murder, blood, lewdness and falsehood. He addresses his prayers to Satan, and aspires to hell.

He has attempted to make his peculiarities pass for a comedy and a studied pose. In a note placed at the head of the first edition (1857) of the Fleurs du Mal, he says 'Among the following pieces, the most characteristic . . . has been considered, at least by men of intellect, only for what it really is: the imitation of the arguments of ignorance and fury. Faithful to his painful programme, the author has had, like a good comedian, to fashion his mind to all sophisms, as to all corruptions. This candid declaration will, doubtless, not prevent honest critics from ranking him among the theologians of the people', etc. Some of his admirers accept this explanation or appear to accept it. 'His intense disdain of the vulgar', murmurs Paul Bourget, 'breaks out in extremes of paradox, in laborious mystification . . . Among many readers, even the keenest, the fear of being duped by this grand disdainer hinders full admiration. The term has become a commonplace of criticism for Baudelaire; he is a 'mystificateur'; everything for him is only a deception; he himself neither feels nor believes anything he expresses in his poetry. It is twaddle, and nothing else. A rhetorician of the Paul Bourget sort, threshing straw, and curling scraps of paper, may believe that an inwardly free man is capable of preserving artificially, all his life long, the attitude of a galley-slave or a madman, well knowing he is only acting a comedy. The expert knows that the choice of an attitude, such as Baudelaire's, is a proof in itself of deep-seated cerebral disturbance.

Mental therapeutics has declared that persons who simulate insanity with some perseverance, even with a rational object, as, for example, in the case of certain criminals on their trial, in order to escape punishment, are almost without exception really mad, although not to the degree they try to represent, just as the inclination to accuse one's self, or to boast, of imaginary crimes is a recognised symptom of hysteria. The assertion of Baudelaire himself, that his Satanism is only a studied role, has no sort of value whatsoever. As is so frequently the case among the 'higher degenerates', he feels in his heart that his aberrations are morbid, immoral and anti-social, and that all decent persons would despise him or take pity on him, if they were convinced that he was really what he boasts of being in his poems;

> he has recourse, consequently, to the childish excuse that malefactors also often have on their lips, viz. 'that it was not meant seriously'. Perhaps also Baudelaire's consciousness experienced a sincere horror of the perverse instincts of his unconscious life, and he sought to make himself believe that with his Satanism he was laughing at the Philistines. But such a tardy palliation does not deceive the psychologist, and is of no importance for his judgement (pp. 294-96).

The emotivity generated by Nordau's undisguised and irrepressible partiality add an engaging vigour to the objective, scientific dimension in this scathing exposé of Baudelaire's psychological frailties. The Austrian's purpose was unmistakably iconoclastic, destructive, and his style serves well the objectives which an intention of this order would have presupposed. Yet however conscious Nordau may have been of the potential impact and effectiveness of his declamatory rhetoric when directed exclusively towards his despised victim Baudelaire, he did not succumb to the temptation to rest complacently on his laurels, considering his purpose to have been achieved. He pursued his quarry as far as the parameters of his theory and his erudition permitted, seeking to define not only what the poet was, but what new trends he had given rise to. It was in this context that he identified the French poet's connections with the Symbolist movement: in displaying the symptoms of 'mysticism' Baudelaire automatically qualified for consideration as a precursor of the Symbolists, while as a Parnassian he had been responsible for promoting the cult of phonic associationism, which, according to Nordau, the Symbolists had wholeheartedly embraced. The most thorough account of Baudelaire's legacy is to be found, however, in the third chapter of the book 'Ego-mania' entitled 'Decadents and Aesthetes':

As on the death of Alexander the Great his generals fell on the conqueror's empire, and each one seized a portion of land, so did the imitators that Baudelaire numbered among his contemporaries and the generation following - many even without waiting for his madness and death - take possession of some one of his peculiarities for literary exploitation. The school of Baudelaire reflects the character of its master, strangely distorted; it has become in some sort like a prism, which diffracts this light into its elementary rays. His delusion of anxiety (anxiomania), and his predilection for disease, death and putrefaction (necrophilia) have fallen, as we have seen in the preceding book, to the lot of M. Maurice Rollinat. M. Catulle Mendès has inherited his sexual aberrations and lasciviousness, and besides all the newer French pornographists rely upon them for proving the 'artistic raison d'être' of their depravity. Jean Richepin, in La Chanson des Gueux, has spied in him, and copied, his glorification of crime, and, further, in Les Blasphèmes, has swelled Baudelaire's imprecations and prayers to the devil to the size of a fat volume, in a most dreary and wearisome manner. His mysticism suckles the Symbolists, who, after his example, pretend to perceive mysterious relations between colours and the sensations of the other senses, with this difference, that they hear colours while he smelt them; or, if you will, they have an eye in their ear, while he saw with the nose. In Paul Verlaine we meet again his mixture of sensuality and pietism. Swinburne has established an English depot for his Sadism, compounded of lewdness and cruelty, for his mysticism and for his pleasure in crime, and I greatly fear that Giosué Carducci himself, otherwise so richly gifted and original, must have turned his eyes towards the Litanies de Satan, when he wrote his celebrated Ode à Satan.

The diabolism of Baudelaire has been specially cultivated by Villiers de l'Isle-Adam and Barbey d'Aurevilly.

. . . . . .

Barbey, the imitator of Baudelaire, has himself found an imitator in M. Joséphin Péladan, whose first novel, Vice suprême, occupies an eminent place in the literature of diabolism.

. . . . . .

Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, who has copied his

> diabolism from Baudelaire, has appropriated the predilection of the latter for the artificial, and has raised it to a funny pitch in his novel L'Ève future.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> A later disciple, M. Joris Karl Huysmans, is more instructive than all those imitators of Baudelaire who have only developed the one or the other side of him. He has undertaken the toilsome task of putting together, from all the isolated traits which are found dispersed in Baudelaire's poems and prose writings, a human figure, and of presenting to us Baudelairism incarnate and living, thinking and acting. The book in which he shows us his model 'Decadent' is entitled A Rebours (pp. 296-99).

Later in the book 'Ego-mania', Baudelaire was identified as a precursor of English Aestheticism:

> We have already mentioned . . . one of the earliest and most servile imitators of Baudelaire - Swinburne. . . . From Baudelaire he has borrowed principally diabolism and Sadism, unnatural depravity, and a predilection for suffering, disease and crime. The egomania of decadentism, its love of the artificial, its aversion to nature, and to all forms of activity and movement, its megalomaniacal contempt for men and its exaggeration of the importance of art, have found their English representative among the 'Aesthetes', the chief of whom is Oscar Wilde (p. 317).

The significance of the mode of presentation reserved for Baudelaire in Entartung is best appreciated when viewed in relation to its most obvious antecedent, L'uomo di genio, and also to traditionalist criticism of the poet. In the first place, although a clear geneological relation unites it with the approach adopted by Lombroso in his seminal study, in other respects Entartung diverges quite markedly from the pattern set by the Italian precursor. The principles according to which Nordau's work adheres are ostensibly those of scientific psychology, yet

his attitude to the literary movements examined is as inequivocally hostile as that of any Valera. In more precise terms, the methodological and conceptual debt which Entartung owed to L'uomo di genio appears to have become relegated to a primarily instrumental role, acting as a vehicle for the imposing doctrinaire intentions which gave the work its particular literary personality. The reason for this is that Entartung was a far more direct expression of the ideological climate of its time than L'uomo di genio had been. Lombroso's originality lay in his application of the new science to an area which it had not previously explored. Nordau ventured one stage further, measuring the literary production of that particular epoch in terms of the standards which science had determined society should strive to meet and abide by. In this respect Nordau was closer to the traditionalists, for although his standpoint and theirs were mutually antagonistic, the writings of both expressed directly the ideological tensions and confrontations of the times when they were produced. A second characteristic of the image of Baudelaire presented in Entartung is that it acknowledged the true standing of the poet and the real extent of his influence on the development of contemporary literary sensibility in a far more explicit and detailed manner than the majority of critics of any affiliation had done up to that point in time. Of course, this only happens to be the case because Nordau found it to be in his interest to do so. It was necessary to actually acknowledge Baudelaire's role and the extent of his influence on contemporary literary developments in order to establish a significant premise, namely, that a direct connection existed between the poet's significance

within the domain of literature and his extraordinary representativeness within the context of the study on a psychological level. The Austrian psychologist saw this connection more precisely as a causal relationship, the latter accounting for the former. Having established this, Nordau was in a position to refer to the scale on which Baudelaire's example had nurtured further manifestations of literary degeneracy for the purpose of stressing the continuing and increasing need for a form of social therapy designed to counter the spread of, and eventually eradicate the contagion of literary degeneration. Moreover, once a plausible parallel had been established between Baudelaire's place in contemporary literature and his unique psychological representativeness within the context of the study, his literary historical identity provided a convenient framework upon which Nordau could structure the presentation of the principle evidence for his case: the presence of symptoms of psychological degeneration.

Nordau's reliance upon the identification of symptoms to demonstrate his case constitutes one of the more prominent and, indeed, predominant manifestations of Entartung's medico-scientific character. It is most in evidence in the descriptions of representative individuals such as Baudelaire, which are composed almost exclusively of compilations of symptoms. This technique naturally influenced the way in which Baudelaire was presented in the study. Consequently the sections of the book in which it figures display further ways (and some of the more marked ways) in which the image of Baudelaire elaborated in Entartung differed from that presented hitherto. It is to Nordau's tirelessly thorough enumeration of the hallmarks of degeneration, for example, that the image of the French poet

presented owes its extraordinary detail. The range of facets discussed was unsurpassed in any other study published at that time. A more interesting consideration arises, however, from the very fact that in the first place Nordau referred to certain traits precisely by virtue of their symptomatic value, and that he clearly and continually treated them in this light. In so doing, Nordau enjoyed, at least theoretically, a singular moral advantage over other critical commentators equally determined in their attempts to persuade readers to accept an interpretation of Baudelaire which served their own ideological aims. When Valera, Pardo Bazán and even Clarín responded to the critical challenge presented by Baudelaire, it was to the literal content of his declarations and the moral message inherent in his behaviour, to which they reacted. More precisely, they accepted the terms in which Baudelaire himself had defined the issues on which their discussion was based. As a consequence, the debate which their comments engendered could only end in fruitless speculation as to whether the poet was defining his moral condition sincerely, or propagating a myth to feed a reputation which he nurtured with obsessive concern. The critical reaction of these critics thereby defined itself semi-overtly in terms of an ideological confrontation. Nordau avoided this situation and so was able to evade the ensuing polemical impasse. He simply ignored, indeed rejected, the terms according to which Baudelaire described experience as the irrelevant meanderings of a diseased mind. Nordau viewed the poet's words and deeds purely in terms of their symptomatic value, which he then interpreted according to an independent system of referentials over which, for the purposes of his book, he retained exclusive control.

The Austrian, then, denied Baudelaire the right of implicit response by refusing to accept the poet's own definition of his behaviour.

4. Spanish reaction to 'Entartung'

Entartung enjoyed considerable popularity in Spain, although it does not follow from this that it was parallelled by an equally widespread sympathy with the cause it represented. Indeed, the active response which the book provoked serves to highlight a clear division of opinion, separating those who took Nordau seriously from those who did not, according to ideological loyalties and affiliations. Among those favourably impressed by the Austrian's controversial theorising was his translator, the one-time Krausist, Nicolás Salmerón y García. His admiration for Nordau, both as a stylist and a thinker, is evident from the preface to the Spanish version of 1902:

> Es Nordau un profundo pensador, un hombre de ciencia y de estudio, gran conocedor de la vida y de los hombres, de una cultura inmensa, que habla y escribe con tal elevación de ideas, con acento tan convencido y tan sincero, con sentido tan profundo de las cosas, que seduce y encanta aun antes de convencer (30).

Traditionalist critics, on the contrary, were far less well disposed to the study. As early as 1894, Emilia Pardo Bazán, who referred disparingly to Nordau as 'un doctor Pedro Recio de Tirteafuera germano' (OC, III, 1170), denounced Entartung as an example of the totally negative iconoclasm which must necessarily have followed from Lombroso's concept of 'genius':

> Nordau es la secuela fatal y natural de Lombroso. A la concepción del genio como enfermedad tenía que seguir el menosprecio

> y la condenación de la obra genial, conceptuada malsano residuo de un organismo enfermo también, y después de haber arrojado sobre las espaldas del genio el andrajo de púrpura, y ceñido a su cabeza la corona de espinas y puesto en sus manos el cetro de caña - la escena del Pretorio reproducida simbólicamente -, tenía que venir la bofetada, el escupir a la cara y el escarnecer. La crítica de Nordau es una continuada detracción, y prueba lo que tuve ocasión de afirmar en el curso de estas páginas, a saber: que las hipótesis de Lombroso matan el sentimiento de la veneración e impulsan a gozarse en el sacrilegio (OC, III, 1174-75).

She did, however, recognise the Austrian's value as an ally in terms of the ends which they both sought to achieve. This is apparent from her admission that 'Hay en ella [Degeneración] capítulos enteros (verbigracia, el dedicado a los simbolistas franceses), a los cuales poco encuentro que objetar' (OC, III, 1179). The more liberal spirit of Clarín, however, remained untempered by such indulgencies:

> Max Nordau es un literato falso que tiene su sistema Kneipp, que ve decadentismo por todas partes, y que desahucia á todos los que no se someten á sus curas . . . de falta de delicadeza é intensidad de vida espiritual. Max Nordau quiere que el artista sea como él, un burgués de lo más chabacano (31).

Entartung provoked an equally unfavourable reaction among a number of those writers who were to gain a place in Spanish literary history a few years after the book first appeared as modernistas and noventayochistas. The general spirit of existing comment from this sector tends to indicate that Nordau appeared more an oddity, sometimes perplexing, sometimes preposterous, than an ideological threat, whence absence among these writers of the desire to indulge in defensive polemics. This attitude is reflected clearly in Rubén Darío's decision to

make Nordau the subject of a chapter of Los raros (1896), a study of some of the more bizarre fauna of the contemporary literary scene, not all of whom provoked Darío's admiration. A comment which the Nicaraguan made in this chapter in respect of Lombroso, and which can be taken as applicable to Nordau as well, provides a revealing indication of the absurd consequences which could have arisen from taking the psychologists' affirmations too seriously:

> Recuerdo que una vez, al acabar de leer uno de los libros de Lombroso, quedé con la obsesión de la idea de una locura poco menos que universal. A cada persona de mi conocimiento le aplicaba la observación del doctor italiano, y resultábame que, unos por fas, otros por nefas, todos mis prójimos eran candidatos al manicomio (OC, II).

Pío Baroja responded in a similar vein, although his astonishment is more apparent:

> Nordau en su obra Degeneración, nos lo dio a conocer a la mayoría. ¡Qué libro más extraño el de Max Nordau! Yo le calificaría entre los más insanos, entre los más perturbadores que se han escrito (OC, VIII, p. 854).

It remained to Miguel de Unamuno to pass the judgement which these reactions implied, and he did so in characteristically forthright manner:

> Hay críticos verdaderamente horrendos, y el prototipo de ellos es acaso Max Nordau, el cual me hace el efecto de un ciego de nacimiento que juzgando por el tacto hace crítica de pintura. Cuando un cuadro le presenta una superficie lisa y fina, lo declara sano razonable y bello, y cuando se le presenta rugoso y áspero a los dedos lo reputa una extravagancia. Y si oye que este cuadro es alabado, declara loco de atar al que lo pintó, y no menos locos á los que lo alaban (32).

Underlying these comments was the awareness that Entartung was a fundamentally suspect enterprise. Realisation that this was the

case was not confined exclusively to the domain of 'partisan' opinion, as can be seen from articles published in reviews around the turn of the century, which exposed more factually than had Darío, Baroja and Unamuno, the more obvious accusations which Entartung invited to be levelled against it. A survey of psychological studies of 'genius' published in June 1900 interestingly identified an error of science committed by Nordau:

> Para Max Nordau el genio es 'la primera aparición en un individuo de funciones nuevas, y por ende de nuevos tejidos, destinados a convertirse en típicos para la especie entera', concepto que arranca de una aplicación inexacta de la hipótesis darwínica de la fijación por herencia de un carácter divergente (33).

Another article appearing some three years later very pertinently brought into question not the theory of Entartung itself, but the spirit in which it had been elaborated. A timely appraisal was thus made of Nordau's partisan motives in writing the book, the real nature and origin of its impact, and the dubious presuppositions upon which its case rested:

> Max Nordau, que tiene bastante talento, no consigue convencernos de su imparcialidad . . . Por mucho que alardee la independencia, nadie es menos independiente que Max Nordau: depende de sus conceptos científicas, de sus teorías médicas, de su talento de dialéctica agresiva, de su inclinación irresistible a la sátira y a la paradoja, y hasta de las ideas y de las pasiones francesas. Su esfuerzo leal y virulento para ser libre nos hace ver mejor las ligaderas que le oprimen y de que no puede desprenderse. Max Nordau es quizá un gran espíritu muy incompleto. Tiene una memoria gigantesca de todas las ideas; sabe asimilárselas y construye con destreza hermosos sistemas que aplica erróneamente a la literatura (34).

There can be no doubt as to the impact of a book which persisted as a talking point in Spain for a decade. As a work capable of

generating attention to this degree it clearly served to keep the name of Baudelaire in the public eye, especially as the poet occupied a position of prominence within the study. As a methodical undertaking with at least the trappings of science, it succeeded in presenting a far wider range of facets of the poet's artistic literary temperament personality, and in markedly greater detail than any previous piece of criticism. Yet in reality the image of Baudelaire presented probably had little influence upon Spanish understanding of the poet, other than among the relative minority who were favourably disposed towards Entartung. Evidence suggests that the unsympathetic majority of readers were attentive above all to the general impact of the book and in expressing their reaction in this respect paused hardly at all to ponder the presentation of individual writers discussed.

IV. LITERATURAS MALSANAS

Spanish interest in the scientific interpretation of 'genius' was aroused almost immediately the works of its principal exponents became known. It was to persist for just over a decade. 1894 was a significant year in this respect, for in many ways it marked the beginning of this period. This year saw the publication of the influential French translation of Entartung and also La nueva cuestión palpitante, in which Emilia Pardo Bazán discussed at some length the theories of Lombroso and Nordau. It was also around this time that the theme began to be treated in the periodical press with reasonable regularity. Between 1894 and 1905 the prestigious La España Moderna published some seven reviews of scientific studies of 'genius', three of which appeared in 1903. What is more significant within the

Spanish context, however, is that 1894 witnessed the debut of the first indigenous work in this field: Literaturas malsanas: estudios de patología literaria contemporánea, by Pompeyo Gener (1846-1920).

1. A Spanish perspective

Gener set out to survey and classify the 'estados anormales de la literatura contemporánea que constituyen verdaderos casos patológicos' (p.5). The diagnosis which he put forward should be interpreted in light of the crudely Darwinistic interpretation of existence which he expounded in the opening pages of the study. The fundamental responsibility of any individual and any society was, according to Gener, to progress towards its most perfect form by fulfilling its evolutionary potential:

> Una aumentación de Bien, de Belleza, de Verdad, de luz, es decir, de nobleza, de superioridad, de vida intensa, he aquí lo que le es debido á la Humanidad. Nuestro más alto deber es la elaboración del Hombre superior, en Fuerza, en Belleza, en Justicia, en Ciencia (p. 380).

One might justifiably identify the influence of Nietzsche in this definition of ultimate human goals. Gener believed that literature had a fundamental role to play in achieving this aim. He conceived of art above all as a means of communication - 'su acción es altamente comunicativa' (p. 383), and consequently valued it as a means of transmitting what was most conducive to the favourable development of mankind:

> Todo hombre, pues, tiene un cúmulo de energías rectas y expansivas que comunicar. Si este hombre es uno de tantos, las comunica solo a sus allegados. Si es un artista, las propaga á todos y les aumenta la vida. Así, hacer una obra de Arte, hacer un buen libro, es tarea superior á la de criar un hijo. El artista, el literato, es un acumulador de fuerza nerviosa que debe

> de servir para vivificar, para reconfortar, para superiorizar a los demás (p. 382).

Gener thus measured the value of an artist in terms of his ability to work towards the corresponding social ideal: 'La creación de un solo pueblo de artistas, sabios y justos, cubriendo la superficie del planeta es el ideal que debe perseguir todo el que escribe' (p. 381). The purpose of Literaturas malsanas, however, was to explain that literature, like individuals and societies, was prone to fall victim to diseases which reduce its capability to fulfil this evolutionary responsibility. This, Gener believed, was what had happened to contemporary literature, the forms of which 'contradicen a los elementos vitales de nuestra civilización europea, y . . . responden a sus deviaciones morbosas' (p. 4). And by virtue of its communicative function, literature could transmit undesirable contagions as easily as it could promote positive vital forces. It was the pessimism characteristic of contemporary literature which, according to Gener, concentrated its negative potential. He did not view pessimism simply as a state of mind, but as a psychological phenomenon with dire physiological consequences. Negative sentiments, he declared, reduced the ability of the white blood corpuscles to resist infection, thereby exposing the organism not only to the risk of disease, but of death. Depression, then, was anti-vital, and thus constituted a crime against existence as Gener defined it:

> [T]odo lo que propenda a deprimir la vida, a desesperanzar, acortar la série del esfuerzo, a matar la evolución, a disminuir la personalidad, a rebajar el impulso humano, a hacer aceptable el sufrimiento, ES MAL SANO, CRIMINAL Y PUNIBLE, POR DELITO DE LESA HUMANIDAD.
>
> . . . . . .

> Sépanlo los escritores y los artistas; el que produce una impresión deprimente, es un envenenador y por tanto un asesino (p. 381).

2. Baudelaire in 'Literaturas malsanas'

The organisation of Literaturas malsanas reflects its Hispanic origins. It was divided into two broad sections, one of which, entitled 'Enfermedades exóticas', referred to literary diseases occurring outside Spain. The brief section devoted to Baudelaire naturally appeared in this half of the study, in a chapter depicting the diverse manifestations of Symbolist-decadent sensibility, which were described at the time as the 'petites chapelles indépendentes'. Gener viewed these generically as a reaction against the positivism of Zola and the Naturalist movement in literature, whence their frequently unorthodox religious spirit. Baudelaire was included within the category of the 'blasfematorios', a literary sect to which Gener attributed extreme attitudes of nihilism and destructive rebellion. The influence of Nordau is not difficult to detect in the definition elaborated in Literaturas malsanas. The combination of religious mysticism and a decided predilection for evil, extreme egoism, moral insensibility, unbridled lust and an exasperated sense of malaise, which the Austrian identified in Entartung, were reiterated by Gener:

> Y vienen los BLASFEMATORIOS. Y con acento trágico y actitud terrible exclaman, "¡Dios es el Mal!"
> Siguiendo a Jean Richepín [sic] , que apesar de su manía de ser turanio supo blasfemar con el sublime arte de un perfecto ateniense, tratan de ser valientes ante la desgracia universal y en vez de abatimiento muestran coraje. Inspirándose en el libro del ilustre poeta blasfeman de todo; nada hay sagrado para ellos; y se declaran profetas de un Nihilismo radical. No tienen bastante con la abolición de la Religión y de la

> Patria quieren destruir la familia, el amor, la amistad, en una palabra, todo.
>
> La Religión es para ellos algo de positivo, y hasta diré de verdadero que les exaspera; y se acojen a lo opuesto, á los símbolos del mal, a las personificaciones diabólicas como si fueran entidades reales existentes. Y consideran los sacrilegios como si existieran realmente con influencia inmediata, maléfica y condenada.
>
> La blasfemia es para ellos signo de la virilidad humana;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Su amor al Mal les viene a veces del sufrimiento propio que llega a volverles insensibles por la desgracia agena [sic] . Otras veces procede de un diletantismo su impasibilidad ante el Bien y el Mal, inclinándose al último por ser de efecto más dramático. De todos modos esta tendencia siempre es en ellos resultado de la perversión de su imaginación que les impele a tomar por asunto las más horribles monstruosidades morales. Estos emfermos conservan de la idea del Bien y de la Justicia lo necesario para saborear mejor el Mal, que reconocen por tal y como a tal adoran. . . . Estos al contrario, tienen un resto de ideas místicas que refinan artificiosa y expresamente para poder producir la impresión maléfica más intensa; así encuentran luego un gusto más picante a los peores extravíos de la carne. . . . Dios existe como un enemigo y ellos se hallan empujados por una potencia satánica que les da el genio y la inspiración. La Naturaleza inmensa y eterna no les basta, es preciso que la desdoblen en el Mal y el Bien, productos de una intervención diabólica y divina en lucha eterna. A cualquier movimiento de la Naturaleza humana hacen un llamamiento al Infierno y al Cielo para presentarnos un estado trágico (pp. 253-55).

Baudelaire was considered to be the most complete and dramatic synthesis of this tendency, and thereby occupied within Literaturas malsanas a position similar to that which he held in Entartung:

> Baudelaire reconcentra esta tendencia. Ni amistad ni amor. Solo un libertinage, un sensualismo, complicado y cruel, spleen, una gran afición al artificio, horror hacia la

> Naturaleza productora, culto de Satán, de la Magdalena y de las mujeres condenadas, corrupción lívida que exhala un perfume de almizcle y un hedor de cementerio. Hé aquí la atmósfera común a Las flores del mal y a las demás otras obras de la misma especie (p. 255).

Baudelaire made one more brief appearance in the pages of Literaturas malsanas during discussion of Russian nihilism. Here, however, the poet featured in a purely incidental capacity, reflecting the significance which the nihilists accorded to the emotion of remorse:

> Y entre los modernos, ¿quién no sabe el partido que Edgardo Poe sacó del remordimiento? Se ha olvidado ya el éxito del Coeur revelateur, y el drama inédito de Baudelaire titulado El Borracho? (p. 330).

Literaturas malsanas offered a psychological interpretation of literature, yet the image of Baudelaire presented tallied almost exactly with that elaborated by those traditionalist critics who attacked the poet on moral grounds. The facets stressed are the same: Satanism, the cult of evil, despair and anguish. The first two of these in particular were once again the subjects of disproportionate emphasis. Gener stated that the 'blasfematorios' indulged their hate of the Divine, 'a cualquier momento de la Naturaleza humana' (p. 255), and Baudelaire, of course, was described as arch-typical. Moreover, the psychologist's bombastic rhetoric exuded the same moral indignation which is to be detected in certain comments of Valera or Ferrari, for example. Reading Gener on Baudelaire, one almost has the impression that the poet's Spanish adversaries had come to an agreement regarding which aspects of the poet's literary personality most merited censure, before proceeding to interpret them according to the respective

standpoints. To this consideration it should be added that Gener's presentation of Baudelaire is misleading and even inaccurate from a literary-historical point of view. The reader is led to believe that Baudelaire and Jean Richepin were not only cast in the same mould (as Valera had also assumed) but contemporaries. Richepin was in fact only in his mid-teens when the author of Les Fleurs du Mal died. Gener's somewhat suspect knowledge of French literary history, which includes the frequent misspellings of author's names found in the book, is just one of the aspects in which Literaturas malsanas amounted to an unwitting campaign of misinformation. The scope of the survey undertaken was too wide, at least in the sense that Gener failed to discuss individual cases with the persuasive degree of detail that Nordau had done. Consequently, the psychologist provided little more than a descriptive enumeration of the broad, surface characteristics of his subjects' psychology. Moreover, relatively insufficient justification was provided for the accusations made, if one compares this study with its more illustrious antecedents. The accounts of the physiological origins and pathology of deviant psychology which he provided, were sketchy and superficial and not integrated into the main body of the study. In theory at least this may have facilitated some unquestioned acceptance of the image of Baudelaire presented in the study, for when taken in isolation, the categories, according to which the poet was described, would have appeared well-defined, and the absence of detailed reference to the poet or quotations from his work would have neatly reduced the sources upon which to construct an impression of Baudelaire to Gener's own words. Yet within the context of the other studies examined so far Literaturas malsanas merely reiterated

Nordau's thesis in less detail, and consequently had less to say. Indeed, in many respects it constituted a regression to the traditionalists' restricted image of Baudelaire, especially as the psychological basis of the study was formulated with considerably less rigour and persuasive verve than it had been by either Lombroso or Nordau. For this reason it may have curried little favour even among the circle of sympathisers and exponents of a scientific interpretation of art. The possibility that this was indeed the case is supported by Clarín's comment that the mention of Gener's name brought a sardonic smile to Max Nordau's lips (35). In the light of the restricted credibility which Entartung gained generally in Spain, it seems probable that Literaturas malsanas, and consequently the image of Baudelaire it presented, fared worse still.

V. 'ALMA CONTEMPORANEA'

1. The spirit of 'fin-de-siècle'

The year 1899 saw the publication of another Spanish attempt to explain the state of contemporary literature in scientific terms. This was Alma contemporánea (Estudio de estética), by José María Llanas Aguilaniedo (1875-1921). In this study, the psychological focus merged with the sociological. Its author believed that the rules governing the functioning of the individual personality could be applied to society as a whole, whence the notion of a 'contemporary soul'. As the sub-title suggests, the aspect of contemporary society upon which Llanas Aguilaniedo chose to concentrate was the activity of its men of letters. In keeping with the fundamental presupposition of the book, he set out to explain this in terms of the Theory of Evolution.

Literature, he believed, was not static but in a constant state of development. It had evolved since the middle ages through a sequence of stages which paralleled those into which the life of a human being falls. Its most recent phase corresponded to old age, 'la segunda juventud' (p. 45). The appearance of the characteristics of decline and senility on a cultural level had been brought about by the extraordinarily rapid development which society had experienced during the preceding decades:

> Como consecuencia de la rapidez con que se ha evolucionado en estos últimos tiempos, han aparecido simultáneamente con las manifestaciones de virilidad y de equilibrio, síntomas inequívocas de vejez y decadencia; el pesimismo, el egotismo, la solemnidad de un Nietzsche, dictando desde la montaña como un semi-dios; el gesto del escéptico y del desengañado, la impotencia, el empequeñecimiento de la producción; ese escribir de cajas de resonancia que vibran en tanto haya quien vibre delante de ellas; aniñamiento, representación de ideas contrarias, misticismo violento, falta de sinceridad, o afición al artificio, debilidad de atención; todo eso se encuentra y se aprecia casi al primer golpe de vista, en los escritores de nuestros días (pp. 46-47).

The excessive demands which the pace of social evolution had made on individual and social consciousness had weakened the strength of the will. This had led to the loss of a universal unifying faith or system of values, which was reflected in a number of fundamental developments characteristic of the direction in which contemporary literature was moving. The first was, according to Llanas Aguilaniedo, the emergence of a series of inevitably ephemeral sub-cults, 'una serie de fes secundarias, flores de un día' (p. 57), to which an unhealthily exaggerated mystical significance had been attributed in an attempt to replace lost guiding principles. The second was the growth

of a cult of amorality or immorality, which the Spaniard explained to have arisen when writers interpreted the loss of values to mean that no absolute values existed. The third was a hate of the bourgeoisie. Llanas Aguilaniedo traced the origins of this sentiment back to the artists' quest for a new sense of significance to replace that which they no longer possessed. This quest had begun as introspection and developed into either chronic forms of egotism or an obsessive cultivation of the means by which a new set of vital principles might be established. Whichever of these predominated, the result was the same: alienation, expressed primarily in a feeling of antagonism towards all who did not share such ideals and aspirations. Llanas Aguilaniedo proceeded to demonstrate the sociological repercussions of this psychological attitude by reference to a bipartate social categorisation. Society, he explained, was composed of workers and bourgeoisie. The former, whom he called the 'exaltados', were divided in turn into manual and intellectual workers, but were united all the same in their pursuit of ideals, justice and perfection respectively. The bourgeois, on the contrary, lacked an ideal, and so 'concite contra sí las impaciencias, la irritabilidad de las dos falanges de exaltados' (p. 27).

2. Baudelaire in 'Alma contemporánea'

In Alma contemporánea the French poet continued to be accorded the extraordinary representativeness which had been attributed to him in both Entartung and Literaturas malsanas. His name was associated with each of the three principle manifestations of the literary 'alma contemporánea' identified in the study and listed above. Llanas Aguilaniedo, however,

interpreted Baudelaire's significance in this respect from a different perspective to that which his predecessors had adopted in their studies. Gener, and more especially Nordau, had concentrated first and foremost on the prime example which Baudelaire provided of the symptomatic tendencies they had identified. In Alma contemporánea, on the contrary, a far more particular emphasis was accorded to the poet as the actual originator of these trends, leaving his representative quality to be inferred by the reader. This perception of Baudelaire's significance was embodied in each of the references made to him in the study. It was with the arrival of Baudelaire, suggested Llanas Aguilaniedo, that literature began to reflect awareness of the collapse of a universal, cohesive system of values, and so split into a proliferation of aesthetic sub-cults each striving to establish some form of absolute principle:

> A esta incertidumbre, a esta indecisión de la inteligencia en el reconocimiento del más elevado de sus ideales, tiene que corresponder una verdadera confusión de escuelas y agrupaciones que tratan cada una por su parte de definir y realizar en absoluto la obra de arte ideal.
>
> A partir del movimiento iniciado en Francia por Baudelaire, París ha conocido los parnasianos, diabolistas, simbolistas, decadentistas, estetas, romanistas, instrumentistas, de los cuales se ocupa Max-Nordau en Dégénérescence (p. 60).

The poet was also seen as the initiator of the increasingly amoral or immoral character of contemporary art, with its rejection of all didactic intention:

> Desde Baudelaire hasta nosotros, nadie se ha cuidado, no ya de moralizar, sino de tener para algo en cuenta a la moral en sus libros; antes al contrario, todos parecen haber tenido decidido empeño en infringir el precepto ético (p. 154).

Furthermore, Baudelaire had been the first to give vent to the hate for the bourgeoisie by then characteristic:

> [T] odas las escuelas y subescuelas de arte que a partir de Baudelaire han venido sucediéndose en el vecino reino y en los países que siguieron el mismo movimiento, concuerdan en un punto esencial: el odio al philistin borné (p. 27).

Alma contemporánea, then, contributed to maintaining the dynamism of the image of Baudelaire presented in psychological studies of 'genius'. Nordau and Gener had departed from Lombroso's model by viewing the deviant psychology which they diagnosed in the poet as a peculiarly contemporary phenomenon and by adopting an unmistakably hostile attitude towards him as a singular representative of the degenerate soul of his age. Similarly, Llanas Aguilaniedo modified the concept of Baudelaire's significance which had been established by his immediate predecessors. While sharing with them a psychologist's perception of the world, he nevertheless looked outward to cultural history rather than inward to physiology. Furthermore, while Llanas Aguilaniedo was no less convinced than they had been that the contemporary psyche was in the grip of a degenerative disease, he appeared more disposed to acknowledge and describe this state of affairs, than to decry it as vociferously as was possible. This is not to say that Llanas Aguilaniedo was not directly influenced by those who had most contributed to forging the tradition to which Alma contemporánea belongs. The number of occasions in the book on which Nordau was quoted or his words paraphrased are a clear enough indication that the Spaniard accepted unreservedly the Austrian's diagnosis of contemporary psychological trends. Yet the degree to which Alma contemporánea diverged from previously

established patterns of psychological 'criticism' was sufficient to influence the vision of Baudelaire's significance depicted therein. Indeed, the nature of this divergence makes it possible to discern affinities with another species of literary psychology: Paul Bourget's Essais de psychologie contemporaine. In both studies, the poet occupies a similar position, being identified as the first to express the neurosis and alienation engendered by unprecedentedly rapid material progress.

VI. BAUDELAIRE AND PSYCHOLOGY IN THE SPANISH PRESS

The image of Baudelaire introduced to Spain by the full-length studies examined above continued to be circulated in the twentieth century, albeit on a reduced scale, largely due to the action of the Spanish press. The poet's psychology was discussed briefly in a number of articles and reviews published between 1900 and 1907. The majority of these reiterated aspects of the classic interpretations established by Lombroso and Nordau. Typical in this respect was a review of Louis Joseph Proal's Le Crime et le suicide passionnels (Paris 1900), published in La España Moderna in July 1900 (pp. 169-74). It is clear from resident reviewer Fernando Araujo's synopsis that Proal shared Lombroso's perception of the melancholy displayed by 'men of genius'. Not only was this feature deemed to be characteristic in men of letters, it was also attributed to their hypersensitivity and extraordinary powers of imagination and interpreted according to a theory of evolutionary compensation resembling that advanced by the Italian:

> [S]iendo más delicados que los demás, los poetas y artistas sufren proporcionalmente mucho más que otras personas; y esa sensibilidad, condición de su talento, es el tormento de su vida.

> Cediendo, por otra parte, al placer de desarrollar exclusivamente la facultad que constituye su superioridad, pierden el equilibrio, la armonía de las demás facultades, recogiendo abundante cosecha de perturbaciones mentales
>
> (pp. 190-71).

Proal, like Gener and Nordau in this account of the followers of 'mysticism', emphasised the communicative power of art which facilitated the transmission of degenerative contagions to other areas of society:

> Así como la fiebre da más brillo a los ojos, la neuropatía da más esplandor a la imaginación y a la sensibilidad del novelista, haciendo sus relatos más vivos y coloreados, y ejerciendo en sus lectores más profundo y pernicioso influjo, infiltrando en sus espíritus su propia morbosidad: un escritor exaltado los exalta, una imaginación inflamada los enardece
>
> (pp. 171-72).

Proal's contention that '[p]ara gran número de novelistas y poetas, pensar es sentir, escribir es anotar asociaciones . . . y especialmente las del amor físico' (p. 172), recalls further aspects of Nordau's account of 'mysticism'. We refer here to the Austrian's belief that not only did sense impressions fuse inextricably with ideas in the consciousness of the 'mystic', but that they were also inevitably accompanied by responses in the sexual nerve centres. Baudelaire, the review stated, shared with other contemporary artists exhibiting these tendencies the desire to intensify his already morbidly exasperated sensibility, and so 'buscaba la inspiración en el opio y el haschisch' (p. 173). Although brief, this passing allusion to the poet was sufficient to establish a connection with further traits of psychological significance. These were weakness of the will, which had been identified as a symptom of degeneration by Lombroso, Nordau and

Gener, and Satanism, which of course was made great play of by commentators of all affiliations:

> Estos hábitos de excitación artificial no son, sin duda, generales, pero son menos raros que se cree. . . . No hay por lo mismo que asombrarse de la flojedad de la razón en estos novelistas, ni que sorprenderse de ver que unos creen en el espiritismo y en las mesas giratorias y otros consultan sonámbulos y quirománticos, habiendo quienes no creyendo en Dios creen en el diablo (p. 173).

Another critic who attempted to account for Baudelaire's 'Satanism' in psychological terms, was Urbano González Serrano. His interpretation of the psychology of the 'man of genius' tallied closely with that advanced by Lombroso on a number of counts. Writing in Madrid Cómico in 1898, González Serrano suggested that the contemporary artist was the victim of a 'delirio de grandezas'. The 'man of genius', he began, sought above all to express the insights which his superior intellectual gifts allowed him to formulate, only to discover that the means of action and expression available in the material environment to which he was bound, were both deficient and insufficient for this purpose. Art provided a way to expiate the ensuing frustration, to wit '[e]l placer estético suple la realización práctica', and thus provided a route by which the 'neurosis' and 'satanismo' characteristic of temporary art, might be channelled into nothing more harmful than artistic creation. This theory corresponds exactly to the belief held by Lombroso and Nordau that it was only the incapacity for practical action which separated the weak-willed 'man of genius' from the delinquent or criminal. González Serrano showed concern, however, that the new generation of 'men of genius' was expressing its exasperation in far more sinister

forms which contrasted with the relatively innocuous existential protestations of Baudelaire and Verlaine:

> Mientras el satanismo de Baudelaire y Verlain [sic] únicamente les perjudica a ellos y a pesar de sus accesos siguen siendo artistas de veras, las nuevas pretensiones de genio inspirado de Nerón, incendiando Roma, y los sonambulismos de Luis de Baviera, repercutiendo en todo lo que le rodea, convierten las válvulas de seguridad en explosivos (36).

The most explicitly derivative psychological account of fin-de-siècle literature and of Baudelaire's significance in relation to it, was offered by José Deleito y Piñuela, professor of history at Valencia university, in a definition of modernismo published in Gente Vieja in 1902. In this article, the catedrático endorsed unreservedly Max Nordau's interpretation of contemporary art. Furthermore, he provided for Spanish readers a significant synthesis of the principal currents of Baudelaire criticism existing at the time. Not only did he acknowledge, as Nordau, Gener and Llanas Aguilaniedo had done, the key position occupied by Baudelaire in the development of contemporary literature, he also emphasised the amoral, perverse, 'Satanic' dimension of the poet which it had become customary for Spanish critics of all affiliations to treat as his exclusive attribute. The significance of this article does not end, however, with these considerations. By treating Spanish modernismo as a manifestation of a widespread literary degeneration, of which Baudelaire's temperament and aesthetics provided an unsurpassable illustration, Deleito y Piñuela established a direct connection between the preponderant influence exercised by the French poet on contemporary literature and the literary developments which were taking place in Spain at the time the article was published. All the aspects

mentioned above are concentrated in three particularly representative paragraphs:

> Todo el modernismo lleva el sello de la decadencia y el agotamiento. Las sociedades, como los individuos, envejecen, y esto es causa del egoismo senil, origen de este orgullo literario que hace cultivar el yo exclusivamente; produce también aumento de sensibilidad, desgaste de las impresiones ordinarias, a fuerza de repetidas, y, como consecuencia, perversión de los sentidos, refinamientos exóticos de una voluptuosidad enfermiza.
>
> Esto nos da la clave del moderno decadentismo divinizado por Baudelaire en sus Flores del mal; tendencia que responde más que ninguna otra fase modernista al proceso degenerativo señalado por Max Nordau.
>
> Erotismos y obscenidades, delirios sangrientos y aterradoras quimeras, el Satanismo, o culto sistemático al mal, la delectación morbosa con lo horripilante o corrompido; todo en los decadentes implica una anestesia moral, una emotividad, desenfrenada, una exaltación neurótica y un desorden mental fronterizo de la locura (37).

It was to Max Nordau himself, however, that history granted the prerogative to pronounce the last word on Baudelaire to be uttered by a fin-de-siècle psychologist in Spain. In an article entitled 'El modernismo en España y América' published in 1907, he not only reaffirmed Baudelaire's role in the transmission of the degenerative affliction which he had diagnosed in Entartung, but specifically identified modernismo as a strain of the disease. Given the veritable fixation with Baudelaire's 'Satanism' which had developed in Spain, it is ironic that among all the traits which Nordau attributed to Baudelaire in Entartung he should choose to characterise him by this one:

> Distingo en las letras españolas, y más en América que en la misma Península, una corriente que lleva a los autores jóvenes - y solamente a ellos - a una imitación deplorablemente servil de los penúltimos, amanerados y ridículos dandys literarios franceses. Digo penúltimos y no

> últimos, porque lo propio de dichas imitaciones es prolongar una moda y una aberración. He aquí la razón de que el excelente señor Rubén Darío se dedique aún á salmodiar las letanías de un misticismo a lo Verlaine, como si esta inocente manía fuese 'le dernier cri', y que otros retroceden al diabolismo de Baudelaire que ha alegrado las 'neiges d'antan' o al catolicismo extático, inconexo y pornográfico de Huysmans que entra también en la categoría de las viejas lunas. No obstante, si es absolutamente precisa una definición, diremos:
> El modernismo es la importación en España de modelos franceses, que ya no están de moda en Francia (38).

VII CONCLUSION

No written evidence exists of the precise reaction in Spain to the image of Baudelaire presented in the works of the psychologist critics. The fortune of this image in Spain, remains then, a matter for deduction on the basis of what is known of Spanish response to psychological criticism, Baudelaire's place in the studies examined above, and general reaction to the French poet in Spain.

To begin with, it can be assumed that inasmuch as the image of Baudelaire presented in the studies of 'genius' exemplifies scientific thinking of the day, the reaction which it provoked in Spain was determined significantly by the conceptual context within which it was elaborated: the theory of 'genius'. This theory was in turn a direct result of the impact of science upon thought in Europe, including Spain, in the mid to late nineteenth century. Consequently, the fortune of this theory in Spain was broadly speaking that which was reserved for the scientific spirit in general. Scientific ideas were new, and above all controversial. They thereby satisfied the requirements necessary to ensure extensive diffusion and to provoke a response which was rarely passive or indifferent. It is necessary,

however, to make a distinction between the widespread attention which the theories of 'genius' succeeded in arousing, and the extent to which they found favour and, consequently, were able to take root in Spain. The ideological climate in Spain during the late nineteenth century was decidedly unsettled, as the forces of traditionalism battled for survival against the agents of innovation. Opinion was, consequently, polarised. On the one hand, there were those who considered that science had a profound contribution to make to elucidation of the human condition, by establishing new vital priorities and offering an account of mysteries hitherto unexplained. On the other hand, there were those who found the scientific interpretation of life's fundamentals, especially in its more positivistic guise, ideologically and morally unacceptable. If the reaction of Emilia Pardo Bazán in La nueva cuestión palpitante is typical, it would appear that under these circumstances, the opponents of iconoclastic scientific ideas were concerned more with the general premise on which the theories of 'genius' rested, than with the examples chosen to demonstrate them. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the particular case histories which the psychologists presented by way of illustration of their theory would have been pondered closely, except by those whose predisposition towards the conceptual basis of the studies was sufficiently favourable to permit a tolerant and attentive reading of their more particular elements.

This conclusion is valid for the image of Baudelaire elaborated by the psychologists inasmuch as it was an illustration of a general premise, and one component of a greater conceptual whole. The impression which is to be gained thereby of the fortune of this image in Spain must, however, be qualified in the light of factors

arising from the status accorded to Baudelaire, both within the studies and in the mind of Spanish critics of the time. In the first place, the attention devoted to the Frenchman in the four studies of 'genius' examined above was far more than incidental. In L'uomo di genio and Entartung, Baudelaire figured among the most important case histories to be documented and significant effort was devoted to analysis of his psychopathological condition. In Literaturas malsanas and Alma contemporánea the Frenchman was clearly identified as the founder and leader of the artistic tradition which was the subject of analysis, and, as a result, presented as a classic example of its psychopathological origins. Secondly, at the time when the psychological studies of 'genius' were becoming known in Spain, Baudelaire had achieved a sufficient degree of notoriety in literary circles for his name to ring familiar when it recurred in new contexts. For these reasons, it may be assumed that the references to Baudelaire in the four studies examined in the present chapter stood a greater chance of drawing the attention of contemporary readers, than did any other of the 'diagnoses' elaborated therein. One is left to imagine the division of loyalties that must have arisen in the mind of the traditionalist, who, while perusing with growing moral indignation the pages of Entartung, suddenly found himself reading one of the most eloquent rationalisations of the moral inadmissibility of Baudelaire's work ever to have been articulated in Spain.

When assessing the contribution of the psychologist critics to the accumulative image of Baudelaire which had grown up in Spain since Fernán Caballero's reference to 'La Cloche fêlée' in 1857, it is essential not to mistake controversy for novelty.

This is not to suggest that the psychological profile of the Frenchman traced in the studies of 'genius' did not display elements which were new, and radically so. At a time when even the most ardent defenders of traditionalist values were still prepared (albeit grudgingly) to acknowledge Baudelaire's literary talent, even though they felt his inspiration misguided, the psychologist critics went as far as to question the very presuppositions regarding the origins of literary talent on which the traditionalists' opinion rested. There can be little doubt that the psychological interpretation of 'genius', with its revolutionary explanation of the dynamics of creation and its meticulous enumeration of symptoms, served both to enrich the image of the French poet and to widen the existing parameters of critical debate.

Nevertheless, the overall impression created by the psychologists' image of Baudelaire is one of reinforcement of existing patterns of critical response as well as of innovation. To begin with, the very theory of 'genius' advanced in the studies examined a single principle, that of the degenerative origins of literary sensibility. This factor determined the image presented with the same absolute authority that moral prejudices had exercised in the work of the traditionalist critics. Consequently, the response of the psychologist-critics to Baudelaire continued to be ideological, as opposed to aesthetic, in nature. The poet's work was treated merely as documentary evidence of his psychological life. Furthermore, given the ideological predisposition of the psychologist-critics, the evaluation of the Frenchman's work continued to be negative, albeit implicitly so. Gener and Nordau were overtly condemnatory. Lombroso, although

ostensibly having no quarrel with the artists of his time, and in spite of his claims to be motivated by scientific curiosity alone, was unable to achieve in his exposé the conceptual neutrality which is necessary if an interpretation is to remain free of negative connotations. The equation of 'genius' with insanity could not have failed to become a weapon of argument in the hands of those predisposed to make use of it, as Emilia Pardo Bazán indicated in La nueva cuestión palpitante and as Lombroso himself probably realised, given his anxiety to impress upon readers the scientific impartiality of his enterprise. Entartung and Literaturas malsanas did indeed represent the inevitable consequence, the 'secuela fatal' as Emilia Pardo Bazán described it, of Lombroso's thesis. Nordau, Gener and Deleito y Piñuela gave rise more than any of the other psychologists, to the idea of the artist as an undesirable element in contemporary society, and in so doing engendered an artificial and dangerously clear-cut distinction between the healthy elements of mankind who had developed their evolutionary potential to the full and the evolutionary backsliders whose activity threatened to throw advanced societies into a state of atavistic retrogression. Only in Llanas Aguilaniedo's Alma contemporánea was a departure from this pattern of response apparent. While accepting Nordau's diagnosis of the spiritual malady which had found a repository in contemporary artistic sensibility, Llanas Aguilaniedo interpreted literary degeneration less in terms of deviance from an evolutionary ideal than as a more or less generalised phenomenon, a psychological sign of the times. In this sense, the image of Baudelaire presented in Alma

contemporánea came closer to that elaborated by Paul Bourget in his Essais de psychologie contemporaine, in which the author of Les Fleurs du Mal was portrayed less as an infirm moral deviant than as the spiritual precursor of contemporary man. The emergence of thinking of this kind represented an initial stage in the movement away from the idea of Baudelaire as an inimical force in literature whose activities threatened to pervert the course of healthy, morally acceptable cultural evolution. The absence of an attitude of unreserved hostility towards Baudelaire and of the desire to prove his vision of existence to be misguided can only be explained in terms of the emergence among the Frenchman's critical commentators of a sensibility which bore a fundamental relation to his own. In this sense LLanas Aguilaniedo's Alma contemporánea heralded the arrival of a new generation of men of letters whose critical response to Baudelaire was to be determined above all by a fundamental affinity of sensibility with the French poet.

NOTES

1. Arturo Castiglioni, A History of Medicine, translated and edited by E. B. Krumbhaar (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), p. 667.

2. See French Literature and its Background, edited by John Cruickshank, 6 vols (Oxford University Press, 1969), V, p. 7.

3. E. N. L. Poynter and K. D. Keele, A Short History of Medicine (London: Mills and Boon, 1961), p. 57.

4. Fielding H. Garrison, An Introduction to the History of Medicine, fourth edition (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1929). p. 512.

5. Castiglioni, op. cit., pp. 765–66.

6. Garrison, op. cit., p. 513.

7. See Castiglioni, op. cit., p. 670.

8. Although Darwin's thesis was revolutionary it was not entirely without respectable antecedents. His own Grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, had broached the issue of evolution. Both Darwin and his contemporary, Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913), who arrived at the same theory as the former in 1858 but recognised his precedence, owed much to the Essay on the Principle of Population (1798) by the English Clergyman Thomas Robert Malthus. Other precursors were Etienne Saint-Hilaire (1772-1844), Lamarck, Lyell, Buffon. Darwin's work was popularised and extended by his contemporary Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), in Principles of Biology (1866-67), Principles of Psychology (1871) and Descriptive Sociology (1873-81), by Wallace's Geographical Distribution of Animals (1876), by Thomas Henry Huxley's (1825-95) Comparative Anatomy of Man and the Higher Apes (1859-62) and On Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature (1863), by Richard Owen (1804-92), and abroad by Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919), whose works include Generelle Morphologie der Organismen (1866), Natural History of Creation (1868), and Anthropogenie (1874).

9. Quoted in translation in Castiglioni, op. cit., p. 696.

10. Ibid., p. 697.

11. Pompeyo Gener provides clear evidence that Darwin was known in Spain and that his theories had been assimilated and understood, at least in the sense that clear conclusions about man's existence and the nature of his duty in this earthly life had been drawn on the basis of

them: 'Todas las personas verdaderamente ilustradas conocen las doctrinas de Darwin. La ciencia de los organismos ha cambiado a su impulso. Sus teorías de la selección y de la lucha por la existencia nos enseñan que en el orden animal los seres, por medio de una evolución lenta y constante a través de las edades, se han perfeccionado a virtud de una ley ineluctable. Cada raza, así progresivamente modificada, ha dado lugar, en línea recta o conforme las ramas de un árbol, a otra u otras superiores, las que, siguiendo a su vez la misma marcha escendente, han llegado a formar tipos relativamente perfectos, según su particular dirección, habiendo una de ellas llegado a producir el organismo superior del HOMBRE' op. cit., pp. 150-151.

12. Robert Thomson, The Pelican History of Psychology (London: Penguin, 1968), p. 199.

13. It is not necessary to look beyond two of the studies to be discussed in the course of the present chapter to appreciate the differences of opinion which existed in respect of the question of 'normality', even among exponents of the same doctrine. Max Nordau considered psychological aberrations of a degenerative order to be 'the habitual condition of the human race, and in no way an eccentric disposition of mind' (Degeneration [New York: Howard Fertig, 1968] , p. 67), while his master Cesare Lombroso refused to believe that 'genius', itself a form of psychological degeneration, was a 'continuation of the conditions of ordinary life'. Rather, he believed it to be a condition clearly separate from the ordinary normal man, 'the man who works and eats' (The Man of Genius [London: Walter Scott, 1891] p. ix).

14. Juan López Morillas, The Krausist Movement and Ideological Change in Spain 1854-1874, translated by Frances M. López Morillas (Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 58.

15. See Walter T. Pattison, El Naturalismo español (Madrid: Gredos, 1965), pp. 22-23.

16. See José Mª López Piñero, 'Hace . . .', Investigación y Ciencia, January, 1979, pp. 6-7 (p. 7); April 1979, pp. 4-5 (p. 5); May 1979, pp. 4-5 (p. 5); June 1979, pp. 4-5 (p. 4).

17. See Luis Maristany, El gabinete del doctor Lombroso (Delincuencia y fin de siglo en España) (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1973).

18. The first edition of Lombroso's study was published under the title of Genio e follia in Milan in 1864. Four editions later, the title was changed to L'uomo di genio. In the sixth edition, the incorporation of a substantial quantity of new data led to a complete revision of the existing form of the study. The geneology of the study is as follows:

1. Genio e follia (Milan, 1864).
2. Genio e follia, fourth edition (Turin, 1882 and Rome: Fratelli Bocca, 1882).
3. L'uomo di genio, fifth edition (Turin, 1888).
4. L'uomo di genio, sixth edition (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1894), Genio e degenerazione: nuovi studi e nuove battaglie (Palermo: R. Sandron, 1897).
5. Nuovi studi sul genio, 2 vols (Milan, Palermo: R Sandron, 1902).
6. Genio e degenerazione, second edition (1907).
7. Genio e degenerazione, third edition (1908).

It is convenient at this juncture to clarify the meaning of the term 'genio', for although it has been translated as 'genius', the Anglo-Saxon word presupposes a far more restricted semantic domain than its Romance counterpart. 'Genio' (Sp. 'genio', Fr. 'génie') was applied to any individual possessing aptitudes beyond those displayed by the average man, plus the capacity for original thought. Giftedness without originality was described by nineteenth century psychologists as 'talent'. 'Men of genius' were not necessarily artists, but were considered to include scientists, philosophers, statesmen, heads of state, soldiers and religious leaders.

19. The Man of Genius (London: Walter Scott, 1891).

20. La España Moderna played a particularly significant role in making known Lombroso's reputation as a criminologist in Spain, through both reviews and translations of his articles. Editors such as Victoriano Suárez had also been responsible for producing translations of his works on the medico-judicial implications of the anthropological study of deviant types, as Luis Maristany has indicated in El gabinete del doctor Lombroso (See p.31 note 1).

21. See Luis Maristany, El gabinete del doctor Lombroso, p. 31, note 2.

22. Ibid., p. 6.

23. The articles by Brunetière cited by Lombroso, were published in the Revue des Deux Mondes, No. 706, 1887, and the Revue Blanche, July 1887.

24. See Souvenirs littéraires, p. 201.

25. L'uomo di genio, p. 325. The poems to which Lombroso referred here are clearly 'Le Chat (OC, 61), 'Le Chat' (OC, 72), and 'Les Chats' (OC, 81).

26. Tercera edición (Madrid: Austral, 1972), pp. 120-22.

27. Lombroso included both Mohammed (see pp. 339-41, p. 348)

and Saint Paul (pp. 347-48) among the 'case histories' which he studied.

28. J. Mª Llanas Aguilaniedo's reference to Nordau's Dégénérescence (the title of the French translation) in his study Alma contemporánea (Huesca: Leandro Pérez, 1899) was accompanied by a note in which the Spaniard remarked: 'Fíjese el lector en que cito a Max Nordau, no obstante haber pasado ya de moda el imitarle' (p. 60). This would indicate that Nordau's Entartung was well-known in Spain in its French version several years before it was translated into Spanish by Nicolás Salmerón y García in 1902. It is indeed likely that Nordau's controversial study succeeded in making a significant impact in Spain almost as soon as it appeared. As early as 1894, the year following its publication, Emilia Pardo Bazán observed that 'Nordau ha conseguido renombre' (OC, III, 1173).

29. The poems cited, in order of quotation, from pp. 286-94, are: 'Les Hiboux', 'La Beauté' (p. 286); 'Rêve parisien' (p. 287); 'Le Voyage' (p. 288); 'Un Mort joyeux', 'La Cloche fêlée', 'Spleen' ('J'ai plus de souvenirs...'), 'Horreur sympathique', 'Le Coucher du soleil romantique'. 'Danse macabre', 'Une Charogne' (p. 289); 'Le Rêve d'un curieux', 'Spleen' ('Pluviôse...'), 'Le Vin du solitaire', 'Le Crépuscule du soir', 'La Destruction', 'Une Martyre' (p. 290); 'Femmes damnées', 'Préface' ['Au Lecteur'] , 'Brumes et pluies', 'Les Sept Vieillards', 'Madrigal triste', 'Abel et Caïn' (p. 291); 'Les Litanies de Satan', 'La Prière d'un païen', 'Le Gouffre' (p. 292); 'Correspondances', 'A une Malabaraise', 'Parfum exotique', 'La Chevelure', 'Le Flacon', (p. 293). Nordau's extensive and uninhibited use of poems as autobiographical evidence, reveals one of the most elementary pitfalls to which those doing so are prone. He deduced (on the basis of the line 'Hostile à l'univers plutôt qu'indifférent') from 'Les Sept Vieillards' that Baudelaire experienced a sense of perpetual antagonism against the world about him. This, however, is a misreading of the poem, since this adjectival phrase is applied to the decrepit old man the poet encounters in the street, and is in no way suggested to be a definition of the poet's attitude.

30. Preface to Degeneración, 2 vols (Madrid: Fernando Fe, 1902, pp. v-vi).

31. 'Palique', Madrid Cómico, September 1897, p. 354.

32. 'Sobre la erudición y la crítica', La España Moderna, December 1905, p. 22.

33. F. Araujo, 'Los hombres de genio', La España Moderna, June 1900, pp. 159-66 (pp. 160-61).

34. F. Araujo, 'Los críticos franceses', La España Moderna, January 1903, pp. 194-207 (pp. 194-95).

35. 'Palique', Madrid Cómico, September 1897, p. 354.

36. 'Genus irritabile vatum. ¿Psicologías?', Madrid Cómico, 1898, no pagination.

37. 'El modernismo', Gente Vieja, 30 April 1902, pp. 1-2 (p. 2).

38. El Nuevo Mercurio, March 1907, pp. 243-44 (p. 243).

CHAPTER FOUR

I. A SHIFT IN SYMPATHY

1. Criticism, decadence and a new sensibility

Around the middle of the final decade of the nineteenth century, evidence began to appear that another body of opinion regarding Baudelaire was beginning to take shape. Its response to the poet differed radically from that of existing Spanish critical reaction, in that it expressed a degree of sympathy hitherto unknown. What is more striking, in the light of established attitudes, is that this new-found understanding appeared to ensue from an affinity of thought and sensibility.

The emergence of this positive response was without a doubt related to the first stirrings of the fin de siglo artistic renovation which took place in Spain. This is to be seen in the sources whence it proceeded, which were three in number. In the first place there were the Francophile propagandists, represented in this instance by the Guatemalan Enrique Gómez Carrillo and the Portorican Luis Bonafoux. The Francophile propagandists were Spaniards and South Americans who, through the medium of literature and journalism, waged a spirited campaign to promote contemporary French literature in Spain. Not only were these writers instrumental in introducing modern classics from beyond the Pyrenees to Hispanic audiences, but also continued to spread the good word by keeping their Spanish-speaking readers au fait with more recent developments. Secondly, there were men of letters associated with the genesis of peninsular modernismo. These were the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío, who has come to be acknowledged by many as the initiator of the modernista movement in Spain, and whose collection of critical portraits

Los raros, published in 1896, contained a number of references to Baudelaire; and the Andalusian pre-modernista poet Manuel Reina, whose volume of verse La vida inquieta (1894) was the first example of indigenous literature to express the idea of the poète maudit. Reina was for some time both the editor of and a contributor to the review La Diana, one of the earliest and most significant organs for the diffusion of contemporary French literature in Spain during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Finally, there was the noventayochista, José Martínez Ruiz (Azorín), who first mentioned Baudelaire in his Anarquistas literarios (1895).

The allusions which these writers made to Baudelaire in the mid-1890's, not only made public for the first time their own interest in the poet, but also prefigured a similarly positive response on the part of a number of those who were to become active members of the literary movements which sprung up in Spain around the turn of the century. Baudelaire, then, had at last gained a modicum of favour and appreciation in a country where reaction hitherto had been almost unanimously hostile. Indeed, he had come to be considered as a literary messiah, an innovator showing the way out of the artistic and spiritual impasse in which Spanish letters had become locked, and consequently as a model to be studied and emulated. Unfortunately, this was not to be the turning point which contemporary devotees might have hoped for. For one thing, not all of the turn-of-the-century writers who spoke of Baudelaire did so with enthusiasm and approval. Some continued to have reservations and others were, indeed, frankly hostile. For another, modernista critics, from

amongst whom most interest in and support for the poet had been expressed, were not unanimous in their expression of admiration. At the same time that certain writers were proclaiming Baudelaire to be the herald of a new artistic sensibility, others had already relegated him to a position of peripheral importance in this respect, in favour of more contemporary writers who they deemed to have superceded him in terms of immediate relevance to their own situation. The explanation as to why contrasting reactions to the poet occurred simultaneously within the same movement of literary renovation is not to be found as one might expect in individual tastes or preferences. The origins of these discrepancies are best clarified by reference to the fortune of French literature in Spain between the middle and the end of the nineteenth century. The work of French writers during this period met with only limited and discriminative acceptance in Spain, a situation which led to a marked attenuation in the process of Franco-Hispanic literary interchange. This was not rectified until the mid 1890's, when interest in French literature intensified as the precursors of the finisecular literary generation looked to France to provide a model for the regeneration of indigenous literature. From this point, post-Romantic French literature began to undergo at the hands of the new Francophiles, a concentrated period of discovery and rediscovery, evaluation and revaluation. In the comparatively short space of time which it took for a new literary generation in Spain to stir, emerge, and to begin to define its artistic identity, the initiators and members of this generation collectively processed half a century of French literature in their quest for sources of inspiration and guidance.

The rapid assimilation by Spaniards of literary developments from beyond the Pyrenees was only made possible, of course, because, unlike the French themselves, who had witnessed their native literature develop at a natural pace through successive chronological stages, they had gained access to all its recent phases virtually simultaneously. Under such conditions, it was inevitable that modernista critical response to this wealth of literary experience should not have developed with total uniformity, and that overlaps should have occurred between stages of opinion, which if differentiated, would have readily been distinguishable as separate phases in a progressive development of understanding. The reason for this is best explained in terms of a number of factors all related to the conditions under which post-Romantic French literature reached Spain. In the first place, no circumstantial control existed to regulate the relation between the order in which French writers came under scrutiny, or revealed their significance, and the chronology of French literary history. The initiators of modernista criticism, Gómez Carrillo and Darío for example, had access to as much material as their younger comrades. Indeed, this became apparent in the course of their critical activity, even if they placed greater emphasis on different writers or stages. This fact was no less true on an individual level. Juan Ramón Jiménez himself admitted later that he was not influenced by Baudelaire until after he had received the influence of subsequent but more accessible writers (1). This point leads on to the second factor, namely, that not only the order but the rate at which Spaniards assimilated the significance of successive phases of French literature varied from individual to individual. What is more, possessing all the

facts at the same time made it possible to recognise simultaneously both how a writer's sensibility and aesthetics had progressed beyond those who had preceded him, and how he in turn had been superceded by others who had pushed developments still further. Consequently, it was virtually impossible both collectively and individually, to exhaust reflection upon one particular French school or writer before passing on to another. Thus it is possible to encounter within the totality of modernista critical response to French models what appears to be a distortion of literary historical order, simultaneous expressions of interest in writers whose work was separated by as much as fifty years. Moreover, different responses to the same writer or acknowledgement of both his positive and negative value at the same time (as was the case with Baudelaire) can also be discerned.

The fact that contradictory views of Baudelaire's significance existed concurrently is, then, a result of the intensity with which interest in French literature arose in Spain in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It should, therefore, not be taken to infer that Spaniards were insensitive to the differences between the successive stages through which French literature had passed since the middle of the century or the relative relevance of each phase to the modernista's own artistic development. Indeed, it is now recognised that modernismo can be divided into two generational stages or 'promociones', the transition between each being characterised in terms of the response to French literature by a shift in preference from Parnassian to Symbolist models. This development was related to the evolution of sensibility within the movement itself. Had the discovery of

post-Romantic French literature in Spain not been condensed into so short a space of time, it is possible that it would perhaps be easier to discern that the differences in response to Baudelaire which occurred simultaneously in reality corresponded to changes of this order. On the one hand the poet was acknowledged to represent a departure from the sterile, exhausted formulae of Spanish literature before the first signs of literary renovation manifested themselves. At the same time, however, it was also recognised that other writers had emerged subsequently whose work made a more poignant appeal to the sensibility of the young Spanish writers than Baudelaire's did. Modernista critical response to the poet, then, reflected the internal evolution and dynamism of what has been called a movement, but which can be defined with equal accuracy as a process of artistic development or a phase of literary transition, the character of which can be defined as much by changes as by constants. Pedro Salinas identified as much in respect of modernismo:

> El modernismo para algunos poetas españoles fue un estado transitorio, para otros un experimento fructuoso. Para ninguno, creo, ha sido un ideal ni una meta. Aprendieron del modernismo para servir necesidades espirituales que iban mucho más allá del modernismo (2).

Salinas's interpretation is corroborated by the significance which their modernista 'phase' held for some of the movement's more illustrious exponents. For both Antonio Machado and Juan Ramón Jiménez, for example, the experience was a starting point, an apprenticeship from which they graduated relatively quickly, having exploited the opportunity which it provided to clarify and begin to establish their aesthetic identity. This is also true

of those writers who achieved their literary peak as *modernistas* and whose reputation now rests almost exclusively on their *modernista* production, such as Manuel Machado and Francisco Villaespesa. It is logical that the process of self-definition which *modernista* writers underwent should have been reflected in their choice of and response to literary models. Critical response to Baudelaire is no exception in this respect. Where approval or admiration was expressed, it was not only because the poet's work represented a break with the sterility and repetition of the past, but because the *modernistas* could identify with Baudelaire's concept of poetry and the sensibility which had engendered it. Baudelaire's art thus provided a meaningful basis upon which the renovation of Spanish literature might be undertaken. The young *modernistas*, however, fed on a rich and varied diet of contemporary French literature, and their identity was quickly consolidated to the point where they were able to establish priorities of their own. They were therefore in a position to distinguish not only past literature from present, but one phase of the new tradition from another; in other words, not only between good and bad literature, but between good literature and better. Thus sincere appreciation of Baudelaire's innovations ceded immediately to keenly critical awareness of how he had come to terms with his sensibility and tackled the challenge which this posed on an aesthetic level. In this respect, other contenders for the role of a literary guiding light had already come on to the scene. So, paradoxically, Baudelaire's moment of glory in Spain was ended as soon as it had begun, as will become apparent as we now proceed to examine the trajectory of

modernista critical reaction to the poet.

2. Ephemeral success

From the early 1880's concern started to grow in Spain that the national literature was falling into a state of decline. This attitude may be somewhat difficult to appreciate in retrospect. Significant innovations had been made in the field of the novel, and even if there were no schools of poets united by a common sense of vigorous literary purpose, at least the reputation of Spanish verse was being upheld by gifted individuals such as Campoamor, Núñez de Arce and Rosalía de Castro. Nevertheless, the feeling that Spanish literature on the whole had ceased to progress continued to spread, and was to persist late into the 1890's when the cause of artistic and national regeneration was taken up by the young writers of modernismo and the Generation of 1898. Increasingly aware of the loss of artistic momentum, critics formulated the notion of the degeneration of Spanish letters, the 'decadencia' as they called it. Initially, this was defined as a simple lack of originality and a decline in creative standards: slavish and mindless imitation of established masters, and the repetition of well-worn poetic formulae to the point of exhaustion. This point of view is exemplified in an article written in 1886 by the journalist and writer Carlos Mendoza. Mendoza clearly identified the condition in which Spanish literature found itself, contrasting this lamentable state of affairs with the almost excessive dynamism characteristic of artistic developments occurring at the same time in neighbouring France:

> Tal es el concepto que tengo formado de nuestros rimadores y versistas; nada nuevo aciertan a decir, cuando tanto precisa hoy revestir de novedad las

> cosas, hasta el extremo de haberse formado en Francia la nueva escuela de los decadentes o decadentículos, sucesores de los parnasianos, los cuales están creando un nuevo estilo poético, y ¡vive Dios! que entre escuchar poesías zorillescas o rimas y conceptos endiablados, prefiero este último, estando dispuesto a sufrir con mayor resignación cualquier wagneriano soneto de M. Stēphane Mallarmé, que no las más apañaditas redondillas A una rosa (3).

Mendoza's exasperation in the face of the stagnation of literary activity in Spain was echoed a year later by Clarín, who was equally willing to accept any measures that might dissolve the cocoon of lethargy which was enveloping Spanish letters. Once again, he turned to recent developments in French literature to provide an illustration of the dynamic forces of artistic renovation at work, although, like Mendoza, he was reluctant to accord to these any more than a relative superiority. The Asturian, however, developed the notion of 'decadencia' beyond a simple lack of formal originality, to associate it more fundamentally with an increasing stultification of the national artistic sensibility and the loss of vital energy. What is more, he identified Baudelaire as one of those who might show new ways and provide the means to revive Spain's flagging literary spirit. In so doing, he anticipated the significance which certain modernistas and others were to attribute to Baudelaire some years later:

> ¿Ves ese pesimismo, ese trascendentalismo naturalista, ese orientalismo panteístico o nihilista, todo lo que antes recordabas tú como contrario a tus aspiraciones, pero reconociendo que eran fuentes de poesía a su modo? Pues todo ello lo diera yo por bien venido a España, a reserva de no tomarle para mí, personalmente, y con gusto vería aquí extravíos de un Richepin, Satanismos de un Baudelaire, preciosismos psicológicos de un Bourget, quietismos de un Amiel y hasta

> la procesión caótica de simbolistas y decadentes; porque en todo eso, entre cien errores, amaneramientos y extravíos, hay vida, fuerza, cierta sinceridad, y sobre todo un pensamiento siempre alerta (4).

The preoccupation with 'decadencia' continued to grow until it reached the point where not even the revered masters of late nineteenth century Spanish literature were exempt from the accusation that their hour of glory was well and truly past. This is illustrated in an article by A. de Santaclara published some ten years after Clarín phrased his indictment:

> ¿Qué quedaría de nuestros 'grandes maestros' contemporáneos si se les comparase con los de Francia, Alemania y hasta Rusia? Abstracción hecha del teatro, que en España sigue a la altura de las demás naciones, continuando la obra de Calderón y Lope de Vega, estamos en una indiscutible inferioridad. En la poesía creo superiores a nuestros Núñez de Arce y Campoamor a los alemanes Geibel, Freiligrath y Hamerling, y en Francia, Musset, Baudelaire y Hugo (5).

Dissatisfaction with existing Spanish literary models, together with a growing interest in the results of vigorous literary developments in France continued amongst the modernistas and their contemporaries. This generation was, however, the last to express attitudes of this kind, for its emergence signified the end of the period of stagnation which had originally given rise to concern regarding the state of Spanish letters and provoked unfavourable comparisons with what was happening elsewhere. Contrary to what one might expect, it would be wrong to infer from this combination of circumstances that their response in this respect was no more than a continuation of pre-existing critical preoccupations. The perspective from which

the turn-of-the-century critics looked upon the range of existing literature with which they became acquainted, was essentially quite distinct from that which had been adopted by their predecessors. For the latter, who had above all seen in the evolution of French literature the antithesis of the stagnation they so lamented in their own, the difference between the two national literatures at that point in time was fundamentally that which exists between artistic inertia and the forces of innovation and dynamism which flourish in a vigorous cultural environment. The reaction of the modernistas and their contemporaries, on the contrary, was determined by factors of quite a different order. These innovators were the representatives of a new literary sensibility, and the revitalisation of Spanish poetics which they engineered was largely the result of their own quest for a means by which to express this in literature. Their struggle to discover linguistic resources capable of meeting this need was naturally reflected in, and indeed conditioned their response to the literary models with which they came into contact. What they sought were sources of guidance and inspiration, models for emulation, and consequently the value they accorded to the writers whom and the literary styles which they encountered, was in direct proportion to the ability of each to fulfil this requirement. It was in French literature, and not in their own, that they found a solution.

Such, then, were the circumstances under which favourable references to Baudelaire by the modernistas and their contemporaries were made. An admirable example of an allusion of this order is to be found in an article published in the eighth number of

Helios in 1903 entitled 'Algunas consideraciones sobre los versos de Núñez de Arce'. Written by the modernista Gregorio Martínez Sierra, it provides a revealing indication of the direction in which modernista poetics was developing. Martínez Sierra began by commenting that while his chosen subject 'siempre puso bien forjados versos al servicio de limpias y nobles ideas', his work nevertheless displayed a regrettable defect in that 'bien pocas veces corre la vida por sus rimas'. He then proceeded to elaborate a detailed distinction between two categories of poet, in the course of which the both precise meanings of 'la vida' and its significance within the context of contemporary aesthetic preoccupations were to become clear:

> Hay dos especies de poetas, los que piensan por imágenes y los que ven por ideas: pudiéramos decir los imaginativos y los cerebrales; de éstos, los primeros son grandes enamorados de la naturaleza y esclavos de la vida; sus versos o sus prosas son como espejos de sensaciones, y en ellos, si existe una acción, es acción sin tendencias ni rumbos prefijados, incoherente y vaga como la vida misma. A veces se desprenden de sus obras sorprendentes lecciones morales y metafísicas, tanto más potentes cuanto no están expresadas en la obra misma, sino que nacen al contacto de ella en el espíritu del lector. Estos poetas imaginativos son siempre grandes sugeridores.
>
> Los cerebrales no ven las cosas; las miran a través de las ideas, y las ideas - vidrios de colores - tiñen la vida con matices falsos y le hacen perder el supremo encanto de la ingenuidad. La vida calla implacablemente ante quien intenta escudriñarla para buscar en ella un sentido que él fijó de antemano. De aquí el fracaso inevitable de los simbolistas voluntarios. En las obras de estos cerebrales la naturaleza es aditamento, vestidura, fondo, accesorio; y ella se venga negándose a dar la sensación: el poeta habla de campos, de espigas, de viñas, de aguas mansas; lee el lector, fina el poema, cierra los ojos... ¿dónde están los campos? La estrofa escultural bailotea runruneando sonoridades: la visión no parece. ¡Ojalá aquellas grandes cosas hubieran sido dichas menos perfectamente!

> Y sucede que estos señores cerebrales suelen ser dogmáticos, apasiónanse por una idea y tratan de imponerla. Así Núñez de Arce con la duda. Tremenda cosa, la duda, y negro escalofrío, el escalofrío del dudar.
> Leídos los versos aquellos:
> ¡Quién no lleva esa víbora escondia [sic]
> dentro del corazón! Ay, cuando llena
> de noble ardor la juventud florida
> quiere surcar la . . . etc., etc.
> dícese en justicia:- He aquí buenos versos que hablan de la duda. Pero leídas 'Fleurs du Mal', de Baudelaire, que jamás dudas define ni de dudares habla, nada se dice, pero se piensa: ¿Dónde está la verdad? y se tiembla y se llora dudando. Que la moralidad y la filosofía no puede enunciarse en versos sino inocularse mediante los versos (pp. 30-31).

The particular dimension of human existence in relation to which Martínez Sierra used the term 'vida' in this context was the psychological and emotional experience of the individual. What he meant precisely when he spoke of the presence or absence of 'life' in literature was whether a literary artefact had succeeded in evoking or failed to evoke the feel or texture of experience of this order. To encapsulate precisely this, and to communicate it to the reader, were the functions implicitly ascribed to creative writing, and more precisely to literary language, in this passage from the article. Thus the poems of the 'imaginativos' were applauded as 'espejos de sensaciones', recreating in language the quality of moods and states of mind experienced by their author, and displaying an internal progression which eluded the constraints of logical sequentiality in order to remain authentically 'incoherente y vaga como la vida misma'. The 'cerebrales', on the other hand, stood accused of interposing a distorting filter of rationalisation between experience in its pure form and its expression in literature. By subjecting mental and emotional events to a process of interpretation, the 'cerebrales' abstracted them from

the circumstances and conditions under which they had taken place, with the result that the feel of the experience, recreated so poignantly in the work of the 'imaginativos' was lost.

The bases on which Martínez Sierra's evaluative distinction rested provide a revealing indication of the degree to which the young generation of Spanish writers were able to assimilate the fundamentals of aesthetic development in France. It is clear that the Spaniard had not only understood the foundations upon which contemporary French poetry had grown, but had indeed adopted them himself and was proceeding to apply the criteria formulated as a result in the evaluation of literature. The best illustrations of this are provided by a number of the qualities identified by Martínez Sierra as characteristic of each of the two types of poet discussed. The emphasis placed by the Spaniard on the effectiveness of techniques of suggestion and evocative language in encapsulating 'life' show him to have appreciated one of the keystones of Symbolist poetics, indeed one which owed its existence largely to innovations in the domain of poetic language engineered by Baudelaire. The belief that logical discourse and direct statement lead poetry into dogmatic attitudinising and declamatory philosophising serve to affiliate Martínez Sierra's thought once again with that of the Symbolists, but still more generally with the tradition of l'art pour l'art, from which Symbolist aesthetics evolved in a number of respects. Also worthy of note on this account is the Spaniard's observation that any moral or philosophical lesson imparted by the work of the 'imaginativos' was purely coincidental. The idea is intriguingly reminiscent of Baudelaire's own pronouncement

regarding what he called 'l'hérésie de l'enseignement':

> Je ne veux pas dire que la poésie n'ennoblisse pas les moeurs - qu'on me comprenne bien, - que son résultat final ne soit pas d'élever l'homme au-dessus du niveau des intérêts vulgaires; ce serait évidemment une absurdité. Je dis que, si le poëte a poursuivi un but moral, il a diminué sa force poétique; et il n'est pas imprudent de parier que son oeuvre sera mauvaise. La poésie ne peut pas, sous peine de mort ou de défaillance, s'assimiler à la science ou à la morale (OC, 352).

Ideas complementary to those expressed by Martínez Sierra had been formulated in the previous year by Ramón del Valle Inclán. In an analytical definition of modernismo published on the 22 February in the Ilustración Española y Americana (8, [1902]), the author of the Sonatas identified as the essential characteristic of the new literature, the transposition of sensations into language. Baudelaire's significance in relation to this trend, however, was depicted in terms far more definitive than those which Martínez Sierra had used. The French poet was portrayed, not merely as a representative of developing tendencies, but as a writer in whose work one of their most essential syntheses was to be found, as the following extracts illustrate:

> La condición característica de todo el arte moderno, y muy particularmente de la literatura, es una tendencia a refinar las sensaciones y acrecentarlas en el número y en la intensidad. Hay poetas que sueñan con dar a sus estrofas el ritmo de la danza, la melodía de la música, y la majestad de la estatua. Teófilo Gautier, autor de la Sinfonía en blanco mayor, afirma en el prefacio a las Flores del Mal que el estilo de Tertuliano tiene el negro esplendor de ébano
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Cuando Gautier habla de Baudelaire, dice que ha sabido recoger en sus estrofas la leve esfumación

> que está indecisa entre el sonido y el color; aquellos pensamientos, que semejan motivos de arabescos, y temas de frases musicales. El mismo Baudelaire dice que su alma goza con los perfumes, como otras almas gozan con la música. Para este poeta, los aromas, no solamente equivalen al sonido, sino también al color:
>
> Il est des parfums frais comme des chairs d'enfants,
> Doux comme les haut bois [sic], verts comme les prairies.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Esta analogía y equivalencia de las sensaciones es lo que constituye el 'modernismo' en literatura. Su origen debe buscarse en el desenvolvimiento progresivo de los sentidos, que tienden a multiplicar sus diferentes percepciones y corresponderlas entre si formando un solo sentido, como un solo formaban ya para Baudelaire:
>
> Ô métamorphose mystique
> De tous nos sens fondus en un:
> Son haleine fait la musique,
> Comme sa voix fait le parfum (p. 114).

A brief allusion to Baudelaire made in 1903 by Emilia Pardo Bazán reiterated the distinction established by Martínez Sierra and implicit in Valle Inclán's definition of modernismo, thereby demonstrating that awareness of what lay at the heart of the new trends and how they differed essentially from Spanish aesthetics prior to their arrival was not the prerogative of a new generation of initiates. Speaking of Núñez de Arce, she observed that '[c]ierto que alguno de sus poemas (Raimundo Lulio, La Visión de Fray Martín) se funda en un simbolismo racional diferente del simbolismo plástico, sensual y musical de Baudelaire y Verlaine' (6).

It is quite logical that the critics quoted above should have chosen Baudelaire in preference to or alongside other French

poets as an exemplary representative of the new poetic. For the Frenchman to occupy this role went hand in hand with growing awareness among all sectors of Spain's literary community of the influence which his work had come to exert, and the extent to which the innovations born of his poetic genius had determined the lines along which poetry had developed subsequently. The capacity in which Baudelaire featured in the comments of Martínez Sierra and Valle Inclán, however, represents more than a simple acknowledgement of his position with regard to the evolution of contemporary poetry. It also reflects critical response to the poet throughout the modernista movement, by characterising both the nature and the extent of his significance among its exponents. Baudelaire was only regarded by the modernistas to be the supreme and unparalleled representative of the new poetry in the very narrow sense, that he, more than any other French poet of the epoch, qualified to be considered as its initiator. The modernistas were aware that it was innovations wrought by this poet, and the influence which these had subsequently exerted, which lay at the root of the decisive contrast that they observed between French poetics and the conventional principles to which Spain's establishment versifiers still adhered. Naturally, the only context in which the poet could appear in this role, as Martínez Sierra's and Valle Inclán's contributions well illustrate, was when the new aesthetic trends from France were being contrasted, explicitly or implicitly, with the uninspiring and outmoded aesthetic conventions in force in Spain, exemplified in the work of Núñez de Arce and the like. Only under such circumstances were the modernistas' support and sympathy for Baudelaire expressed without reservation, and appreciation of

his work not subject to qualification. Once the *modernistas* and their contemporaries looked beyond these parameters, either to view the poet from a completely different perspective, or, more especially, when they came to assess the relative merits of different writers within the new tradition itself, their reaction to Baudelaire was considerably modified.

3. *Rejections, reservations and new heroes.*

For an assessment of *modernista* and *noventayochista* critical reaction to Baudelaire to be truly comprehensive, that reaction must be understood to comprise every allusion to the poet which appeared in any document serving as a vehicle for or constituting an expression of these movements' critical response. Critical reaction should therefore be deemed to include not only judgements passed by recognised *modernistas* or *noventayochistas*, but also external opinion which was reported or quoted by representatives of these two movements. The presence of outsiders' viewpoints within *modernista* - *noventayochista* critical response to Baudelaire and, indeed, the way in which this response was influenced by such opinion, are factors to be borne in mind when one considers and attempts to evaluate the perspectives from which the French poet's merits were pondered.

As has been indicated above, not every appraisal of Baudelaire's significance was made in light of the uninspiring alternatives posed by the likes of Núñez de Arce or the inconsequential versifiers of Spain's *decadencia*. Nevertheless, this did not signify a complete departure from the attitudes adopted by Valle-Inclán and Martínez Sierra. There existed a general consensus throughout *modernista* - *noventayochista* circles regarding the

extent to which Baudelaire's innovations had determined the directions in which poetry and poetics had developed subsequently. Furthermore, the belief was never questioned that to depict or encapsulate 'life' was one of the ultimate objectives of art. Those who did not measure Baudelaire's worth against the impoverished condition of Spanish poetry, however, held a significantly different view of the poet and what his work had to offer by way of example. Above all, they did not portray him as the eagerly-awaited exponent of new directions in art. The impression to be gleaned from their comments is that this was because although in many respects the writers of the Spanish fin-de-siècle were perpetuating the psychological and aesthetic tradition which Baudelaire had founded, they felt that their sensibility had evolved away from his, and that the precise aesthetic measures which the Frenchman had formulated to express his particular perception of the world and himself were unsuited to their purposes. This is confirmed by the two forms in which this less favourable response to the poet expressed itself, both of which suggested that Baudelaire had not fulfilled the aim of capturing 'life' in a way which was meaningful to those now seeking to attain the same objective. On the one hand there were those who believed quite simply that his conception of art was incapable of embodying 'life' as they now perceived it. Such was the opinion of Fernand Gregh, poet and founder of the short-lived movement of Humanisme. It became known in Spain when one of his articles was reviewed, presumably by a sympathiser, in Helios in 1903. The extract selected for translation constituted an attack on Parnassianism and Symbolism on the grounds that the refined and esoteric preoccupations of their exponents had led to the dehumanisation of art:

> La teoría del parnaso. . . ha sido la del arte por el arte, mejor dicho, de la belleza por la belleza. Agnósticos del arte, han restringido el campo de la filosofía. . . . Los parnasianos despersonalizaron, objectivaron la inspiración, prohibieron su musa toda pasión tumultuoso que agitase los pliegues de su túnica, y la encerraron, según fórmula más tarde vulgarizada, en la torre de marfil. Todo ellos han hecho suyo
>
> 'Je hais le mouvement que déplace les lignes
>
> Et jamais je ne pleure et jamais je ne ris'
>
> Pero aunque a su torre fuesen a menudo, como ciudadela inexpugnable, los parnasianos salían a veces de ella para mezclarse con la vida. . . . Los simbolistas tomaron como ideal el Misterio. Si los parnasianos eran agnósticos, los simbolistas fueron místicos. La teoría de la belleza por la belleza se convirtió en la teoría de la belleza por el ensueño. Abandonaron deliberadamente, no sólo la vida subjetiva, el yo romántico, sino la vida entera, subjetiva y objetiva; se enclaustraron en el ensueño; habitaron de la torre de marfil el piso más alto que los parnasianos; se alejaron aun más de la tierra. . . . ¿Qué les ha faltado, pues, a los parnasianos y simbolistas para satisfacernos plenamente? La humanidad. . . . Nosotros soñamos con un arte más entusiasta y más tierno; más íntimo e intenso; un arte directo, vivo, y en una palabra que lo resuma todo: humano (IV, 1903, pp 105-06).

Similar sentiments were expressed with characteristic virulence by Miguel de Unamuno, also in Helios in the same year. In a vigorous affirmation of what he regarded to be the true basis of art, he declared that 'el artista debe amar la vida y odiar al arte' and that 'el hombre que habla como un libro es incapaz de hacer un libro que hable como un hombre'. He went on to expand this point of view:

> Ya sé que nos dirán que el arte es algo específico, que tiene sus leyes y sus reglas, y otra porción de monsergas que se lee doctamente desarrolladas en cualquier manual de estética; pero yo me atengo a lo mío. Y lo mío es que prefiero todo estampido bravío y fresco, que nos pone al descubierto las entrañas de la vida, que no todas esas gaitas que

> acaban en los sonetos de Heredia o en las atrocidades de Baudelaire (VIII, p. 48).

The final trend of *modernista - noventayochista* critical response to Baudelaire which can be identified was not so unreservedly hostile. Nevertheless, it was far from being uncritical of the poet. Although no overt comparison was made between Baudelaire and other innovative poets in the critical comments which correspond to this trend, there can be little doubt that they amounted to a revaluation of the Frenchman's position in the hierarchy of contemporary literary pioneers established by the *modernistas* and others in their search for artistic example and spiritual guidance. The existence of this critical perspective only becomes apparent when pronouncements concerning Baudelaire are compared with favourable response to other poets. When this information is graded according to the degree of enthusiasm displayed in respect of the poets and the significance attributed to each, a scale of preference can be discerned. The relative merits of each poet can therefore be established by a process of deduction, which leads to the conclusion that a comparative perspective similar in form to that adopted by Martínez Sierra and Valle Inclán was latent in the critical comments from which this is to be inferred. In this case, however, the poets against whom Baudelaire's worth stands to be measured had succeeded in awakening in the pioneers of Spain's literary renaissance an interest far greater than that which the likes of Núñez de Arce had engendered.

Two further observations need to be made at this juncture. In the first place, the reappraisal of Baudelaire's status in this way seems to have been a phenomenon peculiar to *modernista*

critical response. Secondly, the fact that it took place represents the alignment of Spanish critical reaction to Baudelaire with the direction in which response to the poet had developed in France, where it was already generally accepted that Baudelaire's influence had grown less direct, and that the value of his example had come to be acknowledged only with a degree of reservation. The consensus was that Baudelaire had been succeeded in his role as the doyen of contemporary aesthetics by writers from subsequent generations. Although these writers continued to work within the same broad tradition which he had established, they had refined poetics to keep pace with developments in contemporary sensibility in such a way as to have achieved far more completely the aesthetic objectives which he had formulated.

An illustration of this comparison latent in the comments of certain critics is to be found in an essay on the poet Albert Samain written by Pedro González Blanco which appeared in Helios in 1903. González Blanco concluded an analysis of Samain's later work with the following observation:

> [S]e reconoce bien pronto que Samain era más poeta que en Aux Flancs du Vase, recordando su bodelerianismo pasado. . . . En el fondo, este complicado amaba la sencillez sobre todas las cosas, y en poesía, para ser sencillo, no hay más que seguir el consejo de Verlaine, esto es, llegar a la plena posesión de sí mismo (VIII, p. 69).

The significance of González Blanco's appraisal resides in the clear implication that Samain had not only become 'más poeta' than when he had been under the influence of Baudelaire, but that he had succeeded in doing so precisely by transcending this influence. In order to appreciate exactly why González Blanco believed this to be so, however, it is necessary to establish the nature of the

development which he understood Samain to have undergone, and the form which he believed the French poet's evolution away from Baudelairian influence to become 'más poeta' to have taken. The key to this issue lies in the references to 'sencillez'. González Blanco presupposed a close connection between the presence of this quality in the poetic artefact and its creator's artistic and spiritual development, themselves inextricably interrelated. 'Sencillez', it was claimed, had made Samain 'más poeta', while resulting from 'plena posesión de sí mismo'. All were portrayed by González Blanco as necessary objectives to be achieved by a true poet, and it is logical to infer from the critic's reference to Samain's 'bodelerianismo pasado' ('recordando' should be translated as 'bearing in mind') that he did not consider Baudelaire to have fulfilled these aims to a satisfactory degree.

The concepts referred to by González Blanco ('sencillez', 'más poeta', 'plena posesión de sí mismo'), however, require further clarification if the essential nature and significance of the aesthetic and psychological distance separating Baudelairian and <u>modernista</u> poetics and sensibility respectively, are to be appreciated. Conveniently, <u>modernista</u> criticism has provided an ideal basis upon which to undertake this necessary task. Let us examine, therefore, the comments of another critic which closely resemble those expressed in Ganzález Blanco's article. In <u>Literatura extranjera</u> (Paris 1895), Enrique Gómez Carrillo challenged the choice which Julien Leclerq had made of seven writers who 'más influyen sobre los talentos jóvenes [franceses] de la hora actual' (p. 310). Leclerq's 'siete maestros' were Renan, Taine, Flaubert, Baudelaire, Leconte de Lisle, Stendhal and

Edmond de Goncourt. Gómez Carrillo suggested that a more realistic Pleiad should comprise Verlaine, Ernest Lavisse, Paul Bourget, Anatole France, Mallarmé, Joris-Karl Huysmans and Octave Mirabeau (p. 319). This revision in Baudelaire's status expressed more or less explicitly the belief implicit in González Blanco's essay that although Baudelaire shared with the modernistas certain fundamental aesthetic and spiritual preoccupations, his response to these considerations had ceased to provide a model which the modernistas could adopt wholesale to fulfil their own particular aspirations. A common attitude to Baudelaire's position in the hierarchy of literary innovators was not, however, the only point of contact between González Blanco's and Gómez Carrillo's critical pronouncements. They also shared the choice of Verlaine as the poet whose work epitomised the realization of the precise aims which the modernistas strove to achieve in and through art. Gómez Carrillo, moreover, like González Blanco, saw Verlaine's 'simplicity' as testimony that these objectives had been attained. The Frenchman's poetry, he noted, was characterised by 'mucha sencillez, mucha ingenuidad y aún algo que, si no es vulgar, por lo menos es infantil' (Literatura extranjera, p. 320). Modernista critical response to Verlaine and, ultimately, Verlaine's work itself are, then, valuable sources of information in the quest to determine wherein lay Baudelaire's failure to figure among those who the modernistas considered to comprise the vanguard of contemporary poetics.

4. El pobre Lelián

No poet succeeded in capturing the imagination of the modernistas like Paul Verlaine. The extraordinary enthusiasm

with which he was received by these writers was due as much to the legend which had grown up around 'Pauvre Lélian' (a self-devised anagram of the poet's name, which his Hispanic devotees seized upon and translated as 'el pobre Lelián') as to the poet's verse. Tales of his tragic existence, his bohemian, dissolute lifestyle and his contradictory personality, in which the mystic struggled with the satyr and resolve vied with anarchic capriciousness or abulia, combined with the melancholy, the musicality and the naïveté of his poetry to exercise upon the minds of his admirers, a fascination without parellel in the history of modernismo. To define the spirit in which Verlaine's admirers spoke of the poet as one of adoration is no exaggeration. In the 1903 preface to Rubén Darío's Peregrinaciones, Juan Ramón Jiménez described Verlaine as

> el poeta más completo que ha nacido y que es, junto a Heine, el alma del ensueño más extraña y más dulce y más íntima que ha pasado por la tierra, viajera del país lejano y encantado (7).

Enrique Gómez Carrillo dedicated to the poet a eulogy equally uninhibited in its use of superlatives. '[H]a logrado', claimed Gómez Carrillo, 'referir mejor que nadie las transformaciones del ser enfermo y sin fortuna'. His greatest achievement, the critic added, was 'haber sabido expresar de un modo sencillo y sublime los estados de alma de nuestro siglo' (Literatura extranjera, p. 319).

Gómez Carrillo's appraisal is significant in that it added to the list of Verlaine's achievements, that of encapsulating 'life' in art. This prompts investigation of the position occupied by recreating the feel of experience and evoking states of mind

characteristic of contemporary sensibility, as well as the function which these activities fulfilled, in relation to other fundamental objectives, such as becoming 'más poeta' and attaining 'plena posesión de sí mismo'. The answer is to be found in a definition of poetry formulated by the critic Gómez de Baquero in 1902, from which it can be deduced that the vogue for interior realism was an integral component of the *modernista* quest to develop both as an artist and as a human being:

> Su asunto principal [de la poesía] es el sentimiento, y como las raíces del sentimiento penetran a la parte inconsciente de nuestro ser, siempre hay en él algo de vago e inefable. De ahí viene su fuerza, a veces invencible, y el encanto del misterio que le rodea, pues lo inconsciente es más *nuestro*, es más nuestro propio yo que el conocimiento, en que sólo ponemos el espejo para reflejar cosas ajenas, ya sean realidades, o fantasmas (8).

Feelings, then, are, on the one hand, the principal concern of poetry and, on the other, originate in (and therefore give access to) the poet's inner existence. This implies that depicting the feel of experience has a role to play in the struggle to attain 'plena posesión de sí mismo', or to encounter, to coin Gómez de Baquero's term, 'nuestro propio yo'. In order to understand what this role comprised, it is necessary to establish the nature of the motivation which drove *modernista* poets to seek 'plena posesión de sí mismo'. Gómez de Baquero's definition of poetry also provides an answer to this question. To describe 'la parte inconsciente de nuestro ser' as 'más nuestro propio yo' establishes the 'unconscious', as Gómez de Baquero chose to call it, as a dimension of experience more authentic and more complete than that to which the human consciousness is usually

confined. Furthermore, the opposition of 'lo inconsciente' to 'el conocimiento' (intuition versus reason, in simplistic terms) indicates that access to the 'parte inconsciente de nuestro ser' involves a change in the mode of consciousness and perception by which reality is apprehended. Conscious intellection, the standard means of acquiring knowledge, must be transcended or broken down, in order to enter the world of pre-conceptualised, pre-articulate primary perception and pure sensation.

Herein is to be discerned the composition of the psychological substructure underlying the aesthetic tradition inaugurated by Baudelaire and of which Hispanic modernismo was one variant. The realisation that pre-rational perception constitutes a more penetrating, more vivid, vital and direct form of awareness than rational consciousness begins with the experience of Idéal, in which visionary insight is accompanied by escape from the confines within which the rational mind operates. Rational consciousness recedes, and primary responses to the outside world and to inner events impose themselves on the mind with an intensity which is undiminished by a filter of interpretative conceptualisation. Basically, the poet's mind ceases to be an agent, intervening to make sense of what it registers as taking place within and around it. Instead, it becomes passively receptive, which permits the poet to apprehend interior and external events directly and immediately. He is thereby able to transcend the limitations of his empirical self to experience, in Baudelaire's words, a veritable state of grace (9). So impressive is this state of heightened perceptivity in which the poet encountered a depth of being

hitherto unknown, that, when it recedes, he remains convinced that so long as he remains separated from the dimensions of existence which it revealed, his existence is inauthentic, and all attempts to decipher the nature of his own being and the world about him are fated to be of no consequence. This results in a form of alienation which has been analysed with masterful precision by Jean-Pierre Richard, in one of four essays which comprise a penetrating study of poetic consciousness entitled Poésie et profondeur (Paris 1955):

> Si nous voulons pénétrer directement dans le drame intérieur de Baudelaire, relisons les vers magiques du Guignon:
>
> Maint joyau dort enseveli
>
> Dans les ténèbres et l'oubli
>
> Bien loin des pierres et des sondes.
>
> Baudelaire est bien lui-même ce bijou endormi, enseveli, cet être separé de son être, cette conscience toujours distante d'elle même et de son objet, perdu dans l'insondable. Mais cette distance est ambiguë:elle enveloppe une proximité, elle suggère une intimité. Le joyau est seulement endormi, il peut toujours s'éveiller, revenir au jour, s'épanouir, devenir fleur, et c'est alors le miracle d'un parfum qui nous atteint comme un message:
>
> Mainte fleur épanche à regret
>
> Son parfum doux comme un secret
>
> Dans les solitudes profondes . . .
>
> Et sans doute cet épanchement manifeste encore la présence perdue de façon très discrète, sur le mode de la réticence: il n'en constitue pas moins un signe indubitable, un aveu d'être (p. 93).

The incomparable richness of the experience of Idéal and the sense of existential fulfilment which ensues when rational

consciousness is transcended, modify radically the poet's perception of his lot in life and of his purpose. Not only does his encounter with the mystic inner dimension of self appear as a privileged moment of access to an ultimate form of knowledge, (10) but thereafter the poet becomes committed to rediscover the blessings which the transcendental experience conferred upon him. The seductions of the hidden world, the source of mystic plenitude, become the subject of the poet's central existential preoccupation, and provide the motivation determining his spiritual mission:

> Cette présence, ce secret, cette dimension énigmatique sans cesse retrouvée au sein du monde sensible, et qui tout à la fois en reclame et en recule indéfiniment le déchiffrement, c'est en eux que s'incarne cette realité que Baudelaire nomme spirituelle, et dans laquelle va se dérouler l'essentiel de son aventure (Poésie et profondeur, p. 94).

By locating the dimension where authentic existence is experienced 'au sein du monde sensible', Richard establishes precisely the same connection between sensations and feelings and the inner domains of the spirit as Gómez de Baquero did.

It is precisely the desire to regain access to the inner world described above which leads the poet to attempt to encapsulate 'life' in his work. 'Nous verrons . . . dans la création poétique', explains Jean-Pierre Richard, 'comme une tentative pour posséder et pour humaniser le spirituel' (p. 94). Poetic language acquires a function which is determined directly by the need to achieve these psychological objectives, and therefore adapts to the task at hand. For the modernistas, reproducing the feel of experience in poetry amounted to a symbolic recreation of the conditions of heightened awareness characteristic of Idéal, or even constituted the verbal expression

of its rediscovery. The way in which Verlaine accomplished this task led the modernistas to consider his poetry to be superior to that of Baudelaire. It is our contention that although the modernistas shared with Baudelaire a fundamental configuration of consciousness and the existential motives for wishing to reproduce the feel of experience in poetry, they recognised that the operation of the conceptualising intellect was far more in evidence in his poems than was desirable, given the aim of recreating the qualities of primary perception. Their admiration for Verlaine stemmed from the fact that he had gone further than most in suppressing traces of a classificatory apparatus in his art.

In Verlaine y los modernistas españoles (Madrid 1975), Rafael Ferreres records the extraordinary enthusiasm with which the modernistas received Verlaine's 'Art poétique' (Jadis et naguère [1884]):

> Aunque el poema 'Chanson d'Automne' . . .
> fue el que todos los poetas que comenzaban
> a ser modernistas sabían de memoria, . . .
> los que buscaban entender el arte de Verlaine
> leyeron y estudiaron el 'Art poétique' . . .
> incluido en el Choix de Poésies [publicado en
> París en 1891 con un prefacio de François
> Coppée] . . . . El 'Arte poética' de Verlaine,
> como sabemos, es la primera o una de las
> primeras de sus poesías que se tradujo al
> castellano (p. 69).

The modernistas, Ferreres indicates, either encountered in or read into the poem a significance far in excess of that which its author intended or imagined it to hold. Although Verlaine had in retrospect insisted that the poem should not be taken as a manifesto or statement of aesthetic beliefs, 'toda esta posterior actitud verleniana fue ignorada por nuestros jóvenes poetas y

tomaron su credo poético como meta a seguir' (p. 73). The poem advocated a radical departure from the rational language use and formalism which were the hallmarks of conventional poetics:

De la musique avant toute chose,
Et pour cela préfère l'Impair
Plus vague et plus soluble dans l'air,
Sans rien en lui qui pèse ou qui pose.

Il faut aussi que tu n'ailles point
Choisir tes mots sans quelque méprise:
Rien de plus cher que la chanson grise
Où l'Indécis au Précis se joint.

C'est des beaux yeux derrière des voiles,
C'est le grand jour tremblant de midi,
C'est, par un ciel d'automne attiédi,
Le bleu fouillis des claires étoiles!

Car nous voulons la Nuance encor,
Pas la Couleur, rien que la nuance!
Oh! la nuance seule fiance
Le rêve au rêve et la flûte au cor!

Fuis du plus loin la Pointe assassine,
L'Esprit cruel et le Rire impur,
Qui font pleurer les yeux de l'Azur,
Et tout cet ail de basse cuisine!

Prends l'éloquence et tords-lui son cou!
Tu feras bien, en train d'énergie,
De rendre un peu la Rime assagie.

Si l'on n'y veille, elle ira jusqu'où?

O qui dira les torts de la hime?
Quel enfant sourd ou quel nègre fou
Nous a forgé ce bijou d'un sou
Qui sonne creux et faux sous la lime?

De la musique encore et toujours!
Que ton vers soit la chose envolée
Qu'on sent qui fuit d'une âme en allée
Vers d'autres cieux à d'autres amours.

Que ton vers soit la bonne aventure
Eparse au vent crispé du matin
Qui va fleurant la menthe et le thym . . .
Et tout le reste est littérature.

(QPC, pp. 326-27).

That the modernistas should have found so much interest in this poem is quite understandable, given the emphasis which they placed upon capturing 'life' in verse. The precepts which it expounded - musicality and the theory of 'nuance', for example - reflect a desire to depict experience in its purest form, before it is evaluated and categorised by the intellect. Their implications, however, are not confined to the chosen subject-matter of poetry. Verlaine's criticisms of rhyme and rhetoric, the trappings of conscious craftsmanship, in particular constitute an attempt to minimise or even eliminate intervention by an organising intelligence in the very composition of the poem.

Verlaine's denial that 'Art poétique' was not what its title

suggested, should not, however, be interpreted as a rejection of the principles set out within it. It was simply that he did not wish to be seen as a theoretician issuing dogmatic proclamations concerning the nature of his art. In reality, his actual poetic achievement rests largely upon the same idea of the nature and function of poetry as that implicit in the 'teachings' of 'Art poétique'. He practiced, in effect, what he preached, although he denied having preached in the first place. The themes of Verlaine's poems suggest that evoking experience as it exists before the interpretative faculty intervenes to make sense of events was a major and recurrent preoccupation in his work. The means which he selected to achieve his objectives was to strive to eradicate all vestiges of conscious intervention from the depiction of inner events and to minimalise the role played by the organising intellect in poetic composition. Nicholas Osmond, who has argued that Verlaine's work from Poèmes saturniens (1866) to Romances sans paroles (1874) represents a progressive refinement of techniques of expression in this direction, has suggested that the poet's ultimate goal was 'to capture the elusive and evanescent quality of experience' rather than to record the neat patterns into which it is organised by the process of conceptualisation (11). To eliminate all traces of this process from the evocation of experience is a logical step to take under the circumstances. By suppressing manifestations of the meaning which rationalisation confers upon experience, Verlaine allowed a more essential significance to come to the fore. The actual moment of experience, as those who had glimpsed Idéal were well aware, is itself a form of insight. The poet experiencing a particular sensation

apprehends the reality of that sensation in a far more direct and vivid way than he is able to through the medium of the knowledge which his evaluative mind abstracts and distils from that experience. It is the 'meaningfulness' inherent in the process of experiencing itself which Verlaine sought to preserve in his poetry. In 'Art poétique' he even defined the precise moment in the continuum of perception when this significance is to be encountered, this being the point ' [o]ù l'Indécis au Précis se joint'. This simple yet effective use of antithesis enabled the poet to evoke the stage of perception at which a significantly intense response within the poet occurs and imposes itself with sufficient poignancy to awaken pre-rational curiosity ('le Précis'), but when the mind is still too passively receptive to start making sense of what is taking place ('l'Indécis'). As Jean-Pierre Richard has observed, ' [t]oute la réussite verlainienne fut donc de se fabriquer une incantation qui invitât à la fois à la jouissance d'une indétermination et à la délectation d'une acuité extrême' (Poésie et profondeur, p. 168).

The effect of suppressing conceptualisation in the perception of experience is not, however, limited to emphasising a meaningfulness different from that deduced by the rational, interpretative mind. The nature and range of an individual's emotional experience and the type of feelings which he most commonly feels are determined by the quality of his existence, his existential condition at that time. The process of conceptualisation is prone to reveal the implications which the nature of purely emotional experience holds in this respect. By eliminating the intervention of the evaluating intellect, Verlaine was not only able to capture a moment pregnant with an awareness of reality far more

vivid than that which rational interpretations of experience could provide, but also to avoid what this moment might have to reveal to him about his existential responsibilities.

Capturing the moment of experience prior to conceptualisation leads, together with the absence of any indication of existential responsibility, to poetry rich in sensations but uncomplicated by clearly formulated preoccupations; poems inhabited by a disembodied sensibility displaying none of the intellectualising functions of the personality. These elements, supported by techniques of composition purged of the trappings of conscious craftsmanship, combine to produce the elemental quality which Gómez Carrillo, González Blanco and others referred to as Verlaine's 'sencillez'. 'Simplicity', in this sense, signified the absence of wisdom and control. It meant ingenuousness as opposed to ingenuity. The converse of the modernistas' observation was, as has been argued above, that Baudelaire's work lacked this quality, because the vision of experience presented in his poems remained structured and organised by a degree of conceptualisation.

The precise differences between the ways in which Baudelaire and Verlaine treated the depiction of experience in their work are, of course, best illustrated by referring to the poems themselves. Let us begin, then, by examining briefly the third of the 'Ariettes oubliées' from Romances sans paroles:

Il pleure dans mon coeur
Comme il pleut sur la ville;
Quelle est cette langueur
Qui pénètre mon coeur?

O bruit doux de la pluie
Par terre et sur les toits!
Pour un coeur qui s'ennuie
O le chant de la pluie!

Il pleur sans raison
Dans ce coeur qui s'écoeure.
Quoi! nulle trahison?. . .
Ce deuil est sans raison.

C'est bien la pire peine
De ne savoir pourquoi
Sans amour et sans haine
Mon coeur a tant de peine!
(OPC, pp. 192-93).

It might be argued that this poem fails to capture the evanescence and fragility of the moment of pre-conceptualised insight as successfully as do the second and fifth 'Ariettes' ('Je devine, à travers une murmure . . .' [OPC, pp. 191-92], and 'Le piano que baise une main frêle . . .' [OPC, pp. 193-94]). Nevertheless, it provides an adequate illustration of how Verlaine sought to eradicate conceptualisation from the depiction of experience by freezing one particular moment of embryonic consciousness, and halting the evolution of awareness before rational understanding comes into play.

Implicit in 'Il pleure dans mon coeur . . .' is a distinction between two levels of identity, each of which has a significantly different part to play within the poem. On the one hand, there is the seat of pure feeling, the impersonal sounding-board of the

emotions, designated by the noun 'coeur'. It is the sentiment pervading this dimension around which the central drama of the poem is enacted. On the other hand, there is the personality, the 'moi', which features only as a helpless onlooker, witnessing events beyond its control and understanding. Its sphere of influence within the poem is further reduced by the fact that it appears in verbalised form only elliptically, in its adjectival form 'mon'. Choice of lexis is also the means by which emotional events within the 'coeur' are brought to the fore, to the exclusion of conceptualisation of experience. The use of verbs expressing emotion or describing sensations rather than suggesting intellection ('un coeur qui s'ennuie', 'ce coeur qui s'écoeure') and of nouns such as 'langueur', which expresses nothing more than a quality of feeling, firmly locates the action of the poem at a stage before the experience depicted becomes the subject of rational scrutiny. At the same time, participation of the 'moi', the conceptualising personality, is rendered minimal by limiting its participation in the poem to the moment of perception, when all that it can register is a sense of bewildered impotence in the face of an état d'âme, the cause of which defies explanation. The syntactical medium chosen to convey this reaction is the rhetorical question ('Quelle est cette langueur / Qui pénètre mon coeur?', 'Quoi! nulle trahison?'), a device which expresses uncertainty by virtue of its very form as well as through the particular interrogative posed. The questions in the poem do not seek answers, but serve merely to convey the inexplicable nature of interior events at the precise stage of perception recreated. Answers, however, there are, although in reality they are no more than the affirmative

counterpart of the questions, confirming that the melancholy 'langueur' is not to be accounted for: 'Ce deuil est sans raison', 'ne savoir pourquoi / . . . mon coeur a tant de peine!'.

The way in which the poem's content is organised further contributes to holding conceptualisation at bay. The experience is evoked from the standpoint of the barely conscious 'moi'. As a result, the progression of events in the poem follow exactly the order in which these events would have occurred when actually experienced. A brief synopsis of the poem confirms this. In the first stanza, the 'moi' detects that the 'coeur' has been pervaded by melancholy, but cannot discover the reason why. Awareness at this level of consciousness, however, lacks the stability necessary to initiate the process of evaluative conceptualisation, and in the second stanza it recedes entirely, leaving the 'moi' in a state of inactivity, registering only the quality of the emotion pervading the 'coeur'. The poignancy of this emotion increases until, in the third stanza, the mind is goaded once more into bewildered curiosity. This time the 'moi' is able to reappraise the situation (stanza 4), but can only conclude what it suspected in the first place: it merely reiterates the inexplicableness of the <u>état d'âme</u>. The achievement of this poem, then, is not simply to have recaptured the emotional tone of an experience, but to have recreated the moment, and the form, of experiencing. 'Il pleure dans mon coeur . . .' is, in reality, a verbal re-enactment of an experience.

A poem from <u>Les Fleurs du Mal</u> which approaches Verlaine's deconceptualised representation of experience is the first of those entitled 'Spleen':

Pluviôse, irrité contre la ville entière,
De son urne à grands flots verse un froid ténébreux
Aux pâles habitants du voisin cimetière
Et la mortalité sur les faubourgs brumeux.

Mon chat sur le carreau cherchant une litière
Agite sans repos son corps maigre et galeux;
L'âme d'un vieux poëte erre dans la gouttière
Avec la triste voix d'un fantôme frileux.

Le bourdon se lamente, et la bûche enfumée
Accompagne en fausset la pendule enrhumée,
Cependant qu'en un jeu plein de sales parfums,

Héritage fatal d'une vieille hydropique,
Le beau valet de coeur et la dame de pique
Causent sinistrement de leurs amours défunts.
(OC, p. 85).

This poem is reminiscent of 'Il pleure dans mon coeur . . .' in that there is virtually no identifiable personality present in the poem. The personal pronoun 'je' is noticeably absent, as is imagery in which the comparatum is explicitly identified as the poet himself. The poet's 'spleen' is evoked almost entirely without reference to the 'moi', whose presence is confined to an elliptical 'mon'. Instead, the mood is suggested indirectly through qualities attributed to the objects and entities inhabiting the physical surroundings evoked in the poem; qualities which function as metaphorical correlatives for the poet's malaise. The objects and entities endowed with them are, therefore, entrusted to embody the état d'âme in the absence of a 'moi',

which confers upon the setting the status of a paysage intérieur. On the one hand, inanimate objects acquire human attributes (personification). A plaintive bell bemoans its lot, a log on the fire asthmatically wheezes out smoke, as if to accompany the clock, which has a cold. On the other hand, the poet's emotional state is projected into host spirits whose condition reflects his mood: corpses in the neighbouring cemetery shiver in the chill, damp February earth; the poet's scrawny, flea-bitten cat restlessly and vainly seeks a place to settle, the destitute soul of a poet whose life is done moans with the cold; and a once dashing Jack of Hearts shares with the Queen of Spades both the dismal habitat of a faded, forgotten pack, and sombre memories of their lost love. (Should a play on the two meanings of 'pique' be understood here, the Dame de pique become a spiteful nag?). Through the representation of states of physical discomfort and suffering, together with metaphorical scenarios of sterile and bitter existences, the corpus of imagery produced by these techniques evokes with singular vividness the state of spiritual bankrupcy which Baudelaire named Spleen.

Effective as the personification of inanimate objects and the projection of the poet's malaise into host spirits may be as a means of recreating the quality of the état d'âme depicted, their conception as literary devices and the way in which they are ordered and structured in the poem are clearly the work of an organising intelligence. There is no reenactment of the moment of experiencing here. The internal progression of the poem does not mirror a sequence of internal events. The state of mind depicted has been abstracted from the context of lived time.

Even though the trappings of a physical setting in which the mood was experienced (either in reality or for the purpose of the poem) have been preserved, they have been extracted from the dynamic continuum of experience as it is lived in the order that its components are arranged. The title itself, 'Spleen', indicates that the particular state of mind evoked has been identified sufficiently clearly to be given a label, and its principal qualities and characteristics evaluated by an intelligent mind. This mind has also been at work arranging imagery appropriate to the expression of its conceptualised insight in a logically-ordered accumulation, with the aim of formulating an evocative but nevertheless systematised reconstruction of a state of mind through presentation of its general features. Nowhere is conceptualisation more evident than in the imagery. Using physical sensations to evoke psychological states and conveying an impression of a hitherto undefined <u>état d'âme</u> by reference to analogous moods drawn from the pool of recognised emotional responses may constitute an appeal to the senses and to the irrational, but they manifest themselves in sophisticated intellectual constructs. The image of a 'pendule enrhumée', for example, requires in both conception and appreciation, a grasp of analogy quite out of keeping with and perhaps even in total contradiction to, the deconceptualised presentation of experience as Verlaine understood it.

A comparative-contrastive analysis of techniques for the encapsulation of 'life' in the poetry of Baudelaire and Verlaine provides, then, a valuable insight into the aesthetic priorities of the <u>modernistas</u>; more significantly within the context of the present enquiry, it provides an explanation as to why their critical response to Baudelaire was as it was. On the one hand, the critics

whose opinions and judgements have been examined above, considered both poets to have worked within the same psycho-aesthetic tradition, a tradition with which they themselves closely identified. The foundations upon which this tradition rested were psychological in nature, whence the radical reappraisal of the nature and function of poetic expression (as can be seen from the terms of comparison used, for example, by Gregorio Martínez Sierra) which it involved. The cornerstone of this psychological substructure was the discovery that a far more vivid and direct perception of reality in evolution was to be gained when rational consciousness, with its attendant process of intellection, was either transcended or prevented from coming into operation. This insight was reflected in poetry in the quest to encapsulate 'life', the feel of experience. The result was poetry which appealed largely if not totally to the senses and the non-rational (or even irrational) imagination, rather than to the intellect. Baudelaire and Verlaine, then, shared broad aims. The precise means by which they sought to achieve these ends were, however, significantly different, as is demonstrated by the modernistas' marked predilection for the poetry of the latter. In one sense, the author of Romances sans paroles took the embodiment of 'life' in poetry a stage beyond that reached by his one-time master Baudelaire, for he not only strove to evoke the emotional quality of states of mind and moods, but to assemble a verbal reenactment of the moment of experience. The value and the significance of doing this can be appreciated more readily if we reconsider for a moment why poets working in this tradition sought to encapsulate 'life' in the first place. Both Verlaine and Baudelaire recognised that contact with the true

nature of things was more intense and immediate when conceptualisation did not participate in the process of perception. The latter, however, expressed this awareness in poetry only from a position of intellectualised, organised retrospect. The former, on the other hand, achieved a far more authentic poetic representation of 'life' by eliminating the intervention of the conceptualising mind, and by preserving not only the qualities, but the structure, organisation and composition of lived events. He resisted the intervention of the processes which abstract experience from the temporal continuum in which it is originally set, and thereby was able to preserve the 'total' perception of the moment of experience.

5. Conclusion

In spite of certain reservations, some not insignificant qualifications, and the occasional outspoken exception to majority attitudes, modernista-noventayochista critical reaction to Baudelaire was favourable, at least in the sense that for the first time a whole generation of writers not only acknowledged the scale of his contribution to the development of contemporary aesthetics, but on the whole approved of the innovations he had wrought and the directions which he had opened up. The aim of this chapter so far has been to examine the variations in focus and sympathy which can be observed within this general area of critical opinion regarding Baudelaire, with a view to identifying the principal trends of which it was composed. The subject of modernista-noventayochista critical response to Baudelaire does not, however, end here. Further evidence remains to be examined, but has been intentionally witheld from debate until

this point, because it cannot be dealt with adequately within the confines of a discussion of general trends. It comprises the critical reaction to Baudelaire of certain authors who had sufficient to say in respect of the poet and did so in sufficient detail, that their opinions and judgements are best examined from the standpoint and in the order that they themselves suggest.

II. BAUDELAIRE'S LEGENDARY PRESENCE

1. A Francophile chronicler

Possibly the earliest and certainly one of the most comprehensive manifestations of the change in critical attitudes to Baudelaire that came with *modernismo* and the *Generación del '98* is to be encountered in the literary chronicles of Enrique Gómez Carrillo (1873-1927). The treatment which this journalist, prose-writer and critic has received at the hands of literary historians is in marked contrast to that accorded to two of his contemporaries - he was six years younger than Rubén Darío and four years older than Francisco Villaespesa - who have come to be recognised as the initiators and leaders of Spanish *modernismo*. Posterity has tended to relegate the expatriate Guatemalan who resided for the greater part of his adult life in Paris to the periphery of the *modernista* movement, perhaps because his achievement as a creative artist pales into insignificance beside the innovative genius of the poet of *Prosas profanas* or the facile but tirelessly enthusiatic prolixity of the versifier of *La copa del rey de Thule*. In so doing, however, posterity has perhaps been somewhat unfair, for it has overlooked that Gómez Carrillo's contribution to the diffusion of innovative aesthetic ideas in Spain was comparable, at least quantitatively, to that of *modern-*

ismo's founders and standard-bearers. The case for a revaluation of his significance in relation to this literary movement must rest, then, upon his work as a cronista who considered it his mission to convey to Hispanic audiences news of the latest developments in contemporary French literature and to school them in the appreciation of the works which had acquired the status of the modern classics.

Gómez Carrillo's singular devotion to French literature is not surprising at a time when Paris was the cultural Mecca of the western world. No imaginative and adventurous young South American with literary pretensions, bored with the second-rate cultural life of his homeland and seeking to broaden his artistic and spiritual horizons, could fail to have been inspired by the extraordinary richness and dynamism of French literature in the last half of the nineteenth century. Gómez Carrillo's literary Francophilia is all the more intriguing, however, because, as even a cursory reading of his chronicles reveals, it reflects an interest which was not only genuine and enthusiatic, but virtually exclusive. This fact is perhaps to be explained less by the appeal which French literature intrinsically held for the Guatemalan, as by the absence of alternatives capable of inspiring a comparable devotion. Spanish literature, once the most obvious oracle for New World Hispanics, failed to provide an example worthy of emulation. Literary life in the madre patria, for so long the focal point of cultural activity in the Spanish-speaking world, was in no position to inspire confidence in those seeking aesthetic guidance, let alone to compete with France as a leader of artistic affairs. Spanish literary life had stagnated, and was passing through the phase which was referred to as the 'decadencia'.

This state of affairs not only influenced Gómez Carrillo's commitment to French literature, by centreing his interest almost entirely on literary events in France, but also served to determine his attitude to Spanish literature. Instead of looking upon it with the deference of an uncultured disciple, he adopted the role of the proselityser, and took it upon himself to make known to Spaniards and, indeed, to the Hispanic world as a whole, the glory of French literature and how its example might serve as a model for the revitalisation of jaded and stagnated national literatures. His Francophilia did not blind him to the difficulties involved in such an undertaking. Indeed, he was acutely aware of the obstacles which stood in the way of anyone attempting to free Spanish letters in particular from the state of decline into which they had fallen. Certainly in the early days of his campaign of literary reeducation he remained sceptical regarding the reception awaiting his work in a country where the vanguard of <u>modernismo</u> had still to appear on the horizon, and where Gallophobia was rife among the literary establishment. In the introduction to a collection of pen-portraits of foreign artists published in 1892 under the title of <u>Esquisses</u>, the young critic showed himself to be pessimistic regarding the interest which his labour of diffusion was likely to arouse:

> No creo que este libro obtenga en Madrid un gran suceso. Fuera de veinte o treinta espíritus cosmopolitas, apenas habrá nadie que lo lea con placer. Su título sólo, en un idioma extranjero, hará sonreir, con risa de compasión, a la banda de críticos españoles que . . . consumen la vida literaria en cazar galicismos. Más bien será en América donde esta colección de ensayos encuentre simpatías (p. 7).

Like the majority of Spanish critics, Gómez Carrillo never made Baudelaire the subject of a specific critical enterprise. Nevertheless, the allusions which he made to the poet incidentally in the course of his work are sufficiently rich both in detail and implications to compensate for the lack of a chapter or essay dedicated to the poet. The critical comments which the critic made concerning Baudelaire were articulated over a period of approximately ten years; the decade, to be precise, which spanned the turn of the century. These comments were concentrated, almost without exception, into four books: Literatura extranjera (1895), Sensaciones de París y de Madrid (1900), El alma encantadora de París (1902), and El modernismo (1905). As the quotation from the introduction to Esquisses illustrates, Gómez Carrillo was conscious of the predispositions in matters of literature existing among the two factions of Spanish literati into whose hands his works were likely to fall: the retrogressive 'hunters of Gallicisms' on the one hand, and the progressive 'cosmopolitan spirits', sadly in the minority, on the other. This awareness of divisions in attitudes within Spain's literary community appears to have influenced the way in which Gómez Carrillo formulated his presentation of Baudelaire to Spanish audiences.

On the one hand, his chosen medium of expression, the literary chronicle, offered an ideal vehicle for the diffusion of avant-garde aesthetic ideas in a way that would fulfil the literary expectations of the 'cosmopolitan spirits' and hopefully win converts to their cause, while laying down a defiant barrage of propaganda around the redoubts in which the Old Guard of Spanish literature were stubbornly entrenched. The perfect compromise between analytical criticism and informative journalism, the

literary chronicles of Gómez Carrillo, combined the specialist focus and intellectual stimulation of the former with the scope and accessibility of the latter. Furthermore, this style of critical presentation enabled the Guatemalan to adopt in respect of the French poet a focus quite distinct from that with which Spaniards had customarily been familiar hitherto. He was thereby able to sidestep traditional 'objections' to Baudelaire and revive the flagging spirits of the small, beleagured enclave of the poet's Spanish supporters. Traditionally, the majority of Baudelaire's Spanish commentators (not to mention a significant number of their French counterparts whose work was known in Spain) had adopted an analytical approach and concentrated on a limited number of aspects of the poet's work (those which they considered to be of the greatest significance), with the aim of putting across their particular interpretation of his aesthetic, morals or psychology, or, more accurately, their case for the prosecution or the defence. Gómez Carrillo's presentation departed from this pattern in two fundamental ways. Firstly, because a chronicler reports what others have said, rather than stating his own mind, and describes events and developments which have taken or are taking place instead of indulging in hypothesis or conjecture, Gómez Carrillo was able to keep his own opinions in the background. In this way objective truths regarding Baudelaire's contribution to the development of contemporary aesthetics and debate concerning the value and meaning of his work could speak for themselves. This is not to say, of course, that Gómez Carrillo held no opinion in respect of Baudelaire. He was clearly favourably predisposed towards the poet, whom he considered to be one of the century's greatest literary innovators. It was simply that he chose to

influence readers by being informative, rather than by dogma or the coercive contrivances of rationalisation. This enabled him to avoid the polemic into which the writing of partisan critics customarily degenerated, while pressing on with his attempts to reeducate the Hispanic literary world. Secondly, by choosing French sources as the basis for his accounts of literary events, Gómez Carrillo was able to transcend the parameters which had habitually restricted debate concerning Baudelaire in Spain, and present the poet from a significantly less claustrophobic perspective. At a time when there still existed in Spain a sizeable anti-Baudelaire lobby who still fingered their crucifixes at the mention of his name and felt more than a little intimidated by the prospect of the poet's influence infiltrating Spanish literary circles, Gómez Carrillo introduced to Spaniards a comprehensive synthesis of opinions held by members of a cultural community, France, for whom the reality of Baudelaire's influence upon contemporary poetics had become an accepted fact. Naturally, not all French critics were content with this state of affairs. They were, however, capable at least of acknowledging contemporary poetry's debt to Baudelaire dispassionately and with a reasonable degree of equanimity.

On the other hand, Gómez Carrillo's sensitivity to reader-group attitudes manifested itself in the image of Baudelaire which he elaborated. Although as a cronista he remained essentially a reporter of events, opinions, trends and attitudes, he was not blind to the fact that the image of an artist as controversial as Baudelaire could be manipulated for effect according to the prospective audience or audiences. In the true spirit of the literary journalist who has mastered his chosen medium, Gómez

Carrillo subjected the image of the poet which he had compiled from numerous sources to a process of typification and generalisation of a kind which makes for highly effective literary journalism. The result was a well-integrated synthesis, combining what was usually considered to be Baudelaire's significance within the milieu whose opinions the Guatemalan recorded with what he recognised Hispanic innovators and potential 'cosmopolitan spirits' might need to know. To this fusion he then added those aspects which he realised were likely to catch or indeed had already caught the attention of Baudelaire's supporters and detractors alike. It was an image, then, which not only embodied a multiplicity of perspectives but which also contained all the ingredients necessary for and was composed in such a way as to arouse simultaneously different responses according to the standpoint of the reader.

We will now proceed to examine the image of Baudelaire which Gómez Carrillo elaborated in the course of his labours of diffusion. The common denominator running throughout the Guatemalan's critical response to the poet was a profound consciousness of the extent to which Baudelaire had influenced subsequent developments in poetry and poetic sensibility. This recurrent theme provides a useful nucleus around which to structure a survey of the poet's image, particularly as Gómez Carrillo's perception of the poet's significance can be divided into three aspects which can be treated in turn: the richness of Baudelaire's artistic legacy, his representativeness and his aesthetic innovativeness.

2. Richness of legacy

> Pero nadie ejerció, en ninguna época, una influencia tan grande como el místico soñador y atormentado de los Pequeños Poemas en prosa y de las Flores del Mal. No, nadie; ni

> Chateaubriand, ni Vigny, ni Lamartine, ni Musset; ni el mismo Victor Hugo, porque aunque todos éstos lucieron, en realidad, durante cierto tiempo, con brillo sin rival, ninguna de sus famas han [sic] durado tanto como la de Baudelaire.
>
> Baudelaire fue el más complejo de los ingenios de su siglo, y por lo mismo es el más venerado. Los neomísticos admiran sus raptos de inspiración cristiana, los diabólicos adoran sus blasfemias, los naturalistas sus descripciones, los decadentes sus imágenes, los prosadores su frase, y los simbolistas sus obscuridades. Todos, en fin, le adoran y le admiran; en todos ha influido (Literatura extranjera, pp. 313-14).

This tribute, for such it is, which Gómez Carrillo paid to Baudelaire in one of his earliest pronouncements in respect of the French poet, is unique in the corpus of critical material comprising Spanish critical reaction to Baudelaire during the period of time covered by the present study. No other critic was to acknowledge so uninhibitedly and so without reservation the profound and far-reaching influence which Baudelaire had exerted upon subsequent generations and schools of writers. Nor had any or was any subsequently to provide so comprehensive a summary of the diversity of tendencies throughout which his impact had been felt.

Gómez Carrillo was to explore some of the aspects enumerated in greater detail. It is not surprising to find the question of Baudelaire's 'satanism', the perennial concern of disciples and opponents alike, providing the subject for discussion in an early reference to the poet, also in Literatura extranjera. Speaking of the 'satanic' poetry of Carducci in an essay on his compatriot Gabriele D'Annunzio, Gómez Carrillo commented that 'hoy sólo inspira sonrisas desdeñosas a los hijos espirituales de Baudelaire, porque el diabolismo que la anima resulta pálido

y artificioso al lado de las divinas Letanías de Satanás' (p. 254). It is worthy of note here that although Gómez Carrillo was resurrecting an old theme, his attitude to it was quite novel. Absent was any attempt to explain away Baudelaire's 'satanism', as other critics had compulsively dedicated themselves to attempting, with the aim of justifying or censuring its presence in his work. Equally striking is the appreciation which the Guatemalan showed for Baudelaire's 'satanism' as a component of his art, for he appeared quite unperturbed by its occurrence and not at all conscious of the taboo which it had become in Spain. This contrasts in particular with the treatment which the trait had received at the hands of other critical allies of the poet. Commentators such as Gautier and Clarín, in many respects so liberal minded, could not refrain from trying to justify Baudelaire's 'satanism'. Such was the assiduity of their attempts to present a positive interpretation of this feature and in particular the energy wasted in discussing the question of Baudelaire's 'sincerity', that one almost gains the impression that they were ultimately unable to come to terms with it in their own mind, to understand it in the way that Baudelaire himself did, and so were seeking to rationalise its existence to themselves in a way that made it appear innocuous and even acceptable. Gómez Carrillo, on the other hand, belonged to a generation and moved in a milieu to whom Baudelaire's 'satanism' was as much a fact of everyday literary life as his profound influence.

A further reference to 'satanism' is to be found in another chapter of Literatura extranjera, entitled 'Los poetas jóvenes de Francia'. Here, the critics defined the poetry of Jules Bois as 'versos diabólicos y místicos, que a veces hacen pensar en los

ramilletes deletéreas de Baudelaire, y que en ocasiones vibran religiosamente como el eco de los órganos lamartinianos' (p. 195). As if to reinforce by a further illustration the point made in respect of Bois, that the coexistence of apparent antithesis - 'mysticism' and 'satanism' - was one of the characteristics of contemporary poetic sensibility, Gómez Carrillo alluded elsewhere in the same book to the mystic tendency in Baudelaire's poetry. In a chapter devoted to discussion of the neo-mystic tendency in French poetry of the day, the chronicler recorded that Baudelaire stood alongside Barbey D'Aurevilly, Verlaine and Dante Gabriel Rossetti as one of the 'pontífices' of a new generation of writers whose extreme idealism had led them to combine aesthetic preoccupations with a pronounced religious sensibility.

At another point in Literatura extranjera, Gómez Carrillo turned once more to Baudelaire's côté scandaleux to examine the treatment of vice in the poet's work. In the course of a discussion of the poetry of Algernon Charles Swinburne, Gómez Carrillo remarked that the themes of lust and vice were treated with greater authenticity by Baudelaire than by his English disciple. Implicit in the chronicler's observation that the French poet excelled in exploring the states of mind of the debauchee who has indulged his appetite for libidinous excesses was the belief that Baudelaire had actually experienced what he wrote about:

> La falta de práctica en el amor, hace que Swinburne contemple, a veces, la tentación dolorosa de la Lujuria con lentes inverosímiles. En sus descripciones de madrugadas lascivas, casi nunca se descubre ese gran cansancio de la carne que hacía decir a Baudelaire: 'Odio la pasión; ya la gracia me hace daño'. En sus ruegos eróticos no hay satiarisis humana, sino curiosidad de caricias no sentidas.
>
> . . . . . .

> En Las Flores del Mal, el Vicio habla generalmente de otro modo; pero eso consiste en que Baudelaire sólo pedía lo que estaba a su alcance, con objeto de obtenerlo, mientras que el autor de Anactoria pide por pedir, sin preocuparse de la realización de sus ensueños diabólicos (pp. 43-4).

The implication that when Baudelaire composed poems evoking the emotional aftermath of debauchery, he was speaking from experience derives from an ambiguity in Gómez Carrillo's analysis which remained unresolved. It is unclear whether the critic was referring to licentiousness in life or in art. He appeared to shift the emphasis from the teller to the tale when he chose the term 'descripciones [My italics] de madrugadas lascivas' (as opposed to 'recuerdos' or a similar substantive recalling personal experience). He also seemed to treat Baudelaire's post-coital taedium vitae as a fiction existing only within the world of the poem by letting Vice itself, and not the poet, do the talking: 'En las Flores del Mal, el Vicio habla generalmente de otro modo'. The impression to be gained elsewhere in the passage, however, could have been quite the reverse. The fact that Gómez Carrillo accounted for Swinburne's poetic voyeurism in terms of his sexual inexperience, and suggested that Baudelaire 'sólo pedía lo que estaba a su alcance' argues in favour of considering the depiction of lust or of its consequences in the poets' work as a reflection of their experience in real life. The contradiction resulting from Gómez Carrillo's (possibly intentional) failure to differentiate between the poets' lives and the scenarios of the creative imagination served to enhance the idea, presented in the passage as a whole, that Baudelaire's poems were songs of vice and licentiousness. For the critic to have clarified the precise sense in which this was true would have diminished the purely dramatic effect

to be gained from exploiting so controversial an aspect of the poet's work.

This was not the only occasion when the stress which Gómez Carrillo placed upon the theme of vice in Baudelaire's poetry could be argued to have been somewhat exaggerated and misleading. The connotations regarding the presence and role of this theme in the poet's work which were developed in the essay on Swinburne in Literatura extranjera were also present in a passage from Sensaciones de París y de Madrid. The passage in question involved a description of prostitutes, a species of urban low-life which fin-de-siècle writers found particularly intriguing:

> Pero la hora brillante es la media noche. Entonces las mômes, las girls, las busconas, todas las flores viciosas y atrayentes del arroyo, todas las ovejas del rebaño clorótico de Gavarni y de Baudelaire, las vendedoras de sonrisas y las aventureras del erotismo; las histéricas y las comerciantas, las tristes de la tristeza sumisa del trabajo amoroso y las insociables, todas las mariposas noctámbulas y neuróticas, en fin, llegan una tras otra, y de pie, junto al mostrador, esperan . . . (p. 254).

The collective noun 'rebaño' is misleading. A reader unfamiliar with Baudelaire's poetry could be forgiven for having deduced from it that a prostitute plied her trade at every verse end in Les Fleurs du Mal, for he could have easily been led to infer that harlotry was a far more popular subject in the poems than was in reality the case. Furthermore, if this possibility had been taken in conjunction with the connotations with which Gómez Carrillo's image of the whore was infused (firstly, modern, urban beauty with its corrupt and morbid sensuality, its physical and moral abjection or degeneracy, its lurid eroticism, tainted with overtones of death and fatality; and secondly, the idea of the

suffering of the abused pariah), it could have created the impression that the prostitute was a stock image used by the French poet to evoke these qualities, which so appealed to the décadent imagination. A reader believing this, however, would have been misled on both counts. Women figures and female imagery are common in Baudelaire's poems and do indeed serve on occasions to embody characteristics similar to those emphasised by Gómez Carrillo. The whore, however, appears only infrequently, and occupies no special position either among the ranks of Baudelaire's femmes fatales or with regard to expression of the décadent concept of beauty.

It might also be pointed out at this juncture that Gómez Carrillo's belief that the 'rebaño clorótico' was 'de Baudelaire' is erroneous. It derives from a misreading of the source from which it was taken. The image was clearly borrowed, along with the allusion to the artist Gavarni, from the following lines from 'L'Idéal' (OC, 53):

> Je laisse à Gavarni, poëte des chloroses,
> Son troupeau gazouillant de beautés d'hôpital,
> Car je ne puis trouver parmi ces pâles roses
> Une fleur qui ressemble à mon rouge idéal.

It is evident from this stanza that Baudelaire did not, as Gómez Carrillo implied, share Gavarni's idea of beauty. On the contrary, the poet rejected the insipid charms of the caricaturist's consumptive demoiselles, preferring instead a far more virile, potent and even sinister quality in his women. Nor, it might be pointed out, is it in any way suggested in these lines that the beauties concerned are prostitutes.

The possibility should not be overlooked, of course, that Gómez Carrillo never intended, even unconsciously, to infer that prostitutes abounded in Les Fleurs du Mal when he used the image of the 'rebaño clorótico' in that particular context. A vague recollection of the stanza from 'L'Idéal' may simply have come to mind at the moment when he was writing the passage in which it appeared. Assuming, however, that prostitutes and the qualities with which they were imbued in Sensaciones . . . did form an integral part of the image which Gómez Carrillo held of Baudelaire in his mind, several reasons exist to explain why he should have made such an apparently unjustifiable association. In the first place, there are three occasions on which the figure of the whore appears in Baudelaire's work displaying characteristics similar to those identified by the Guatemalan. The one which comes closest to the image of prostitution evoked in Sensaciones . . . is in the opening quatrain of 'Le jeu' (OC, 102):

> Dans des fauteuils fanés des courtisanes vieilles,
> Pâles, le sourcil peint, l'oeil câlin et fatal,
> Minaudant, et faisant de leurs maigres oreilles
> Tomber un cliquetis de pierre et de métal.

The second, far less vivid and detailed, but expressing the notion implied in Sensaciones . . . that the prostitute's existence is one of suffering and martyrdom, is in the lines from 'Au lecteur' (OC, 43) in which hedonistic humanity is described as 'un débauché pauvre qui baise et mange/Le sein martyrisé d'une antique catin'. The third is to be found in the Petits poèmes en prose, in the prose poem entitled 'Mademoiselle Bistouri' (OC, 180-81). In this short conte, the

poet tells of an encounter with an insane prostitute, and concludes with a reflexion on her fate, which is as tragic as it is fascinating: 'Quelles bizarreries ne trouve-t-on pas dans une grande ville, quand on sait se promener et regarder? La vie fourmille de monstres innocents (OC, 181). Here, as in Gómez Carrillo's description, there is a feeling for the particular destiny to which the prostitute is condemned and for her place in the mythology of modernité. All three of these instances could be said to be sufficiently memorable to have acquired in the Guatemalan's mind an importance which bore no relation to the relatively minor position which each occupies within the poet's work as a whole. Such hypotheses, however, can never be objectively demonstrated.

An alternative source for Gómez Carrillo's impression, or more probably, one which may have complemented that which he gained from reading the poems and prose poems, is Baudelaire's literary journalism. Speaking of contemporary life as a subject worthy of treatment in literature and art in the Salon de 1846, the Frenchman remarked that

> [l]e spectacle de la vie élégante et des milliers d'existences flottantes qui circulent dans les souterrains d'une grande ville, - criminels et filles entretenues, - la Gazette des Tribunaux et le Moniteur nous prouvent que nous n'avons qu'a ouvrir les yeux pour connaître notre hérofsme (OC, 260).

While in his 'Conseils aux jeunes littérateurs', the poet declared that the man of letters should only choose two types of female companion: 'les filles ou les femmes bêtes' (OC, 268).

Another possibility is that Gómez Carrillo was influenced by his knowledge of Baudelaire's biography. Accounts of the

poet's liaisons with prostitutes and other women of suspect or less than spotless reputation, and in particular the consequences of these relationships, had already been well documented by Crépet. Critics with a taste for sensationalism and scandal-mongers were quick to make use of these facts, thereby contributing to the sinister legend which grew up around Baudelaire. The Guatemalan lived and moved in circles where he would doubtlessly have picked up gossip of this order without any difficulty whatsoever. The poet Louis Le Cardonnèl, who Gómez Carrillo knew personally and admired, would have been one of many who reinforced this image of the French poet in the Guatemalan's mind, when he defined womankind as 'una legión inmortal: la misma que mató a Baudelaire, la misma que va a matarte a ti, la misma que atormenta a Félicien Rops' (Literatura extranjera, p. 199).

By far the most plausible explanation for an exaggerated perception of the importance of the whore in Baudelaire's work, however, is to be found in the special symbolic significance which the image of the prostitute and the notion of prostitution had acquired in Symbolist-décadent circles and which persisted among French poets of Gómez Carrillo's generation. The description of harlots in Sensaciones . . . provides an admirably comprehensive synthesis of the characteristics in which the symbolic significance of the prostitute was seen to reside. On the one hand, the combination of eroticism, degeneracy and artificiality which typifies the demeanor and behaviour of the prostitute was very much in harmony with the décadent concept of beauty. Moreover, this blend of qualities recalled with singular poignancy the connection established by the Symbolists and in particular the

décadents, between sex, perversity, contre-nature, and death. The prostitute, then, synthesised le beau moderne in its most extreme aspects (12). On the other hand, the very idea of prostitution appealed to writers of this period because the whore's was a fate with which the poet felt a particular affinity. Poems such as 'Bénédiction' (OC, 44-45), 'L'Albatros' (OC, 45) and 'La Plainte d'un Icare' (OC, 85) provide a vivid illustration of how the poet working within the Symbolist - décadent tradition saw himself as a spiritual exile, a fallen soul, a pariah, a sublime and superior spirit crippled by an incurable and indefinable malaise and persecuted to the point of martyrdom by the insensitive masses who were incapable, through their impoverished sensibilities, of sharing his vision of existence and of the world. The situation of the prostitute was very similar. Rejected and abused by a hypocritical and philistine society, subjected to but rendered sublime and tragic by suffering, deprivation and humiliation, the whore was, like the poet, a stoic, a dandy (albeit a fallen dandy: Mademoiselle Bistouri is the female counterpart of Le Vieux Saltimbanque), who had been forced to sacrific integrity to survive and face the consequences with Spartan impassivity. Both poet and prostitute were, then, 'heroic' in the Baudelairian sense of the term. The sense of affinity between poet and whore found its most explicit expression in poems such as Manuel Machado's 'Secretos' (OC, 19-20), in which the poet declared '¡Hetairas y poetas somos hermanos!'. The fact that the description of prostitutes in Sensaciones . . . chose to emphasise the qualities which poets of the time found of special significance seems to indicate that Gómez Carrillo was

familiar with and appreciated this significance. If this was indeed the case, it is not surprising that he should have singled out those aspects of Baudelaire's work which seem to fall, however marginally, within the same pattern, and that he should have been predisposed to read in perhaps more than there really was, as soon as the slightest cue to do so presented itself. This would certainly explain why the few references to prostitutes in Baudelaire's work could have assumed in the cronista's mind, proportions far greater than those which an 'objective' appreciation of the facts would have been prepared to confer upon them.

A further reference to Baudelaire is to be found in Sensaciones . . . and is interesting because it reveals what kind of artist Gómez Carrillo considered Baudelaire to be. At the point where it occurs, the Guatemalan was engaged in making an evaluative contrast between the poet dedicated to the cause of Beauty who writes for himself or a select minority without concern for financial reward, and the writer, intent on making a living from his pen who embraces la muse vénale and caters to public taste. Gómez Carrillo believed that the former was the true artist, and that Baudelaire and Verlaine fell into this category because '[no] consiguieron, en Francia, vivir de sus obras' (p. 159).

'Satanism', mysticism, vice and artistic élitism were, then, the aspects which Gómez Carrillo chose to emphasise from among the diverse ways in which Baudelaire's sensibility manifested itself. The reasons why he concentrated upon these features and not others - assuming, of course, that he was consciously motivated in the choice he made - must ultimately remain a matter for conjecture. What can be established with a reasonable degree

of clarity, however, are the consequences which the treatment of these aspects held for the image of Baudelaire presented in his work. The range of features discussed by Gómez Carrillo were united by two factors. In the first place, they all embodied Baudelaire's controversiality, either individually ('satanism', for example) or in combination with other aspects ('satanism' or vice combined with mysticism produces a controversial contradiction). Secondly, the description of Baudelaire which they furnished both individually and accumulatively was neither that of a real psychological personality nor that of an artistic persona. The type of identity which Gómez Carrillo exploited belonged, then, neither to the world of art nor to that of biographical truth. Instead, it comprised a dramatised typification of the poet, an entity of ambiguous ontological status, the Baudelaire of Baudelaire's legend.

3. Representativeness

In a chapter of El alma encantadora de París entitled 'Los breviarios de la decadencia parisiense', Gómez Carrillo advanced the theory that every major literary movement of the nineteenth century had produced at least one book whose protagonist embodied the sensibility typical of that movement:

> Así como los pueblos dejan, encerradas en biblias, sus almas colectivas, así las generaciones literarias van legando, en manuales sugestivos, las imágenes transitorias de sus ánimos variables. En Francia, sobre todo, desde hace cien años, la regla no ha tenido excepción. René [de Chateaubriand] primero, y más que René el Obermann de Sénancourt [sic] , fue el libro de los románticos, el Charles Demailly de los Goncourt encarnó el alma nerviosa y artista de la generación de Flaubert, de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, de Barbey d'Aurevilly; el Termite de los

> Rosny fue el espejo de los naturalistas verdaderos; los simbolistas tuvieron en el A rebours de Huysmans un breviario; y para los decadentes de nuestros días, para los perversos, para los 'raros', Jean Lorrain acaba de escribir Monsieur de Phocas (13).

Gómez Carrillo understood the continuum which this pattern of repetitions indicated to be psychological as well as literary in nature, for each of the books' protagonists not only embodied the sensibility of the generation to which his creator belonged, but also displayed the symptoms of the particular strain of the mal du siècle which had afflicted each generation successively. It was with reference to this 'eterna neurosis', this 'mal [que] no se cura' because its victims were constitutionally different from normal human beings, that Gómez Carrillo introduced Baudelaire as both the author and the protagonist of one of these 'breviarios':

> El mismo mal, [que el de Obermann] agravado, complicado, quintaesenciado, atormenta a Carlos Demailly. ¡Pobre artista! Lo que para sus amigos no es nada, es mucho para él. Las sensaciones se agrandan y tiemblan en su cerebro. Sus nervios, eternamente tendidos, palpitan cual las cuerdas de una lira. Su carne y su mente están sanas, empero. Es fuerte, es joven, es serio. Todos le estiman. Sólo sus íntimos saben que, en el fondo de su ser, hay un enamorado de lo extraño, de lo artificial, de lo misterioso, un artista refinado, un poeta que sufre de lo que los demás gozan. El 'sentido artista', es decir, la noción minuciosa y exacta del color, de la luz, del dibujo, del ambiente, del relieve, lo preocupan sin cesar. Luego la vida aumenta sus tormentos y agranda sus tristezas. . . . Este estado es idéntico al de Baudelaire, cuyas Flores del mal son también un 'breviario'. 'Era un hombre de decadencia - dice Bourget - y se hizo el teórico de su enfermedad. Esto es tal vez lo que en su obra seduce por encima de todo a nuestros contemporáneos. Sus horas de delicias son las del crepúsculo; la belleza de la mujer no le seduce sino cuando es casi macabra, de delgadez adolescente, o tardía o autumnal. Las músicas acariciadoras y lánguidas, los amueblados curiosos y las pinturas singulares

> son el acompañamiento necesario de sus ideas morbosas. Doquiera que lucen las fosforescencias de la podredumbre, se siente atraído. Al mismo tiempo su intenso desdén contra lo vulgar estalla en paradojas laboriosas'. En Baudelaire, pues, que como Byron fue el héroe de su propia poesía, los caracteres del gran mal aparecen más visibles que en Demailly y casi tanto como en Des Esseintes (14).

Two aspects of the image of Baudelaire presented in this passage merit comment. In the first place, although Spaniards were familiar with the decadent aspects of Baudelaire's work, both through French critics such as Gautier and Bourget and because the theme of Baudelaire's aspecto decadente, once discovered, had become, along with malaise, one of the stock themes of the poet's Spanish commentators, this reference to the theme in El alma encantadora . . . constituted the first occasion on which it had been treated from a French perspective by a Hispanic critic writing for a Spanish audience. It was logical, of course, that Gómez Carrillo, in his role as chronicler of literary events, should do no more than to reiterate the French point of view, but at least his efforts served to remind Spaniards in their own language that décadent sensibility and the malaise which accompanied it could be interpreted as inevitable consequences of the age, rather than as moral or psychological aberrations which should simply not be allowed to manifest themselves in literature.

Secondly, just as Les Fleurs du Mal with their creator as their protagonist represented a trend which, as Gómez Carrillo indicated, had recurred throughout French literature of the nineteenth century, so the image of Baudelaire presented by the Guatemalan repeated the pattern established in Literatura extranjera

and Sensaciones de París y de Madrid. On the one hand, Baudelaire's reputation as the first exponent of décadent sensibility and aesthetics and as a victim of the corresponding strain of the mal du siècle was, like his 'satanism', a source of controversy which had already been recognised as such and exploited by critics accordingly. On the other, the poet's actual moral and psychological personality and his artistic persona were confused in much the same way as they had been in the earlier works. Baudelaire was described as the hero of his own poetry, a definition which conveniently blurred the distinction between the human drama of the real man and its representation on a different ontological level, in poetry. Furthermore, the Baudelaire appearing in 'Los breviarios de la decadencia parisiense' had undergone a process of typification, from which he emerged as a suitably dramatic but somewhat two-dimensional figure, an artefact confected from the personification of his poetry and his aesthetic pronouncements; in short, Baudelaire the décadent hero. One might at least acknowledge Gómez Carrillo's portrayal of Baudelaire in El alma encantadora . . . as the supreme décadent act: the transformation of what might purport to be biography into a quasi-fictional legend.

4. Aesthetic innovations

In a chapter of El Modernismo entitled 'El arte de trabajar la prosa artistica', Gómez Carrillo gave a highly instructive account of the direction in which modern art was evolving. In the opening paragraphs of the chapter the critic offered a vigorous defence of pure art:

> El arte literario, en efecto, lejos de acercarse

> cada día más a las ideas, corre hacia la forma. Es un arte, quizás el arte por excelencia, el único, en todo caso, que dispone de la línea, del color y del ritmo. Es el arte emocional y sugestivo. Todo lo abarca. Contiene la substancia entera del Universo. Pero la contiene en belleza y esto es lo que no quieren comprender esos espíritus groseros que sólo piden al literato que 'diga cosas', que 'tenga ideas', como si el arte tuviese algo más que su propia gracia y su propia divinidad (pp. 300-01).

Gómez Carrillo then went on to examine the attitudes to composition held by some of the principal exponents of this view of art, among whom he included Baudelaire:

> Otro de los maestros que, desde este punto de vista merecen ser señalados como ejemplos a los jóvenes artistas de nuestra lengua, es Baudelaire.
>
> Con un entusiasmo inquebrantable, este maravilloso poeta proclamó siempre la supremacía del arte literario sobre los demás artes, asegurando que es más rico en ritmos que la música, más abundante en matices que la pintura y más dueño de las líneas que la estatuaria. Dando consejos a Cladel joven, decíale:
>
> -El escritor es el hombre por excelencia, el gran obrero. Al escribir dibuja, pinta, graba, burila, esmalta, pule, esculpe, ama, odia, lo hace todo, no haciendo sino una cosa, llena sus diversas funciones ejerciendo una sola. Es lo universal. Es Pan. Es, en fin, entre los artistas, el Rey.
>
> Luego le recomendaba que, para llegar a ser grande en ese arte superior, estudiase el Diccionario y leyese catálogos de Artes y Oficios.
>
> En aquella época de romanticismo y de grandilocuencia, tal recomendación resultaba extraña. Hoy, por el contrario, parece muy juiciosa (pp. 307-08).

The critic concluded his assessment of Baudelaire's contribution to directions in contemporary aesthetics by examining what he considered to be the poet's most significant contribution to the development of 'artistic' prose:

> [Baudelaire] creó el 'poema en prosa', la

> prosa rítmica, . . . la prosa musical, pero sir rima, bastante flexible para adaptarse a los movimientos líricos del alma, a las ondulaciones de las soñaciones, a los sobresaltos del amor. En estos poemas sin verso, es donde el maestro empleó con más frecuencia las palabras polisilábicas y amplias que tanto gustaban a Gautier, y que le hacían pensar en sentimientos expresados con rubíes, zafiros o esmeraldas. Con un arte infinito hacía entrar las aliteraciones, antes reservadas a la poesía, en tales obras.
>
> Las imágenes se desprenden de los 'como', de los 'parece', de los 'diríase', de todo lo que en los períodos comunes hace más pesado su vuelo. En cuadros diminutos cual un soneto, los más raros paisajes aparecen embalsamados por perfumes penetrantes y animados por músicas lejanas. Viéndolos se comprende que su creador haya tenido la convicción de que la literatura es un arte que los compendia todos.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> [Baudelaire tenía] el más supersticioso amor de las palabras en sí mismas, por sus sonoridades peculiares, por el brillo evocador de sus sílabas, por su estructura plástica (pp. 309 & 311).

In some respects, Gómez Carrillo's treatment of Baudelaire in El Modernismo represented a not insignificant departure from the format of presentation to which the cronista had adhered in Literatura extranjera, Sensaciones de París y de Madrid and El alma encantadora de París. This derives largely from the fact that the critic adopted a different focus of debate, and one which afforded an opportunity to present his case for the new literature more directly and forcefully. In El Modernismo, Gómez Carrillo turned away from thematic aspects of Baudelaire's work, his biography, and above all components of his legend, to examine the poet's influence on the development of contemporary poetics in purely aesthetic terms. This move was clearly advantageous, for the nature and the virtues of literary innovations of the kind

which Gómez Carrillo sought to publicise and promote in Spain are presented most effectively and appreciated most readily when expressed in terms of the aesthetic precepts, priorities and practice in which they are reflected. Gómez Carrillo appears to have been aware of the opportunity to advance his case which treating aesthetic issues afforded, for his exposé of the innovations wrought by the French artists, including Baudelaire, whose work he discussed in the chapter 'El arte de trabajar la prosa artística' aspired not simply to be informative but instructive. Anecdote, reportaje and evocación, the stylistic bases upon which his crónicas were constructed, were pervaded on this occasion by a spirit of latent didacticism. They acquired an illustrative, exemplary significance which had been absent from or, at least far less apparent in the popularised literary history in which Baudelaire had featured in the earlier books. Also worthy of note is that, in El Modernismo, Gómez Carrillo was unprecedentedly explicit in expressing his admiration for Baudelaire, 'este maravilloso poeta', as if he wished to reward him for the excellent synthesis which his work furnished of the characteristic aspirations of the new art whose cause the Guatemalan had chosen to champion.

The exploration of Baudelaire's aesthetic innovations undertaken in El Modernismo also provided the means by which to extend the range of characteristics of which Gómez Carrillo's image of the poet was composed. New discussions of the poet's thought came to light: his conviction that literature was superior to the other arts, because it was the most 'complete' of all; his belief that the true artist is a meticulous craftsman who strives for perfection, and who measures his achievement in terms of quality and not prolixity; his

belief in the mystical properties of language, and the correspondances which unite it to the qualities of experience which the poet seeks to evoke in his work. The allusions to Baudelaire in El Modernismo also contained timely reminders of significant facts which Spanish critical response to the poet, in its stubborn adherence to certain stock issues and prejudices, risked overlooking. It is heartening, for example, to find Gómez Carrillo indicating the importance of the prose poem. Baudelaire was recognised as the 'creator' of this genre, yet critical debate in Spain concerning the poet had tended to revolve around issues arising from aspects of his verse poetry. Furthermore, the association which Gómez Carrillo established, in the opening paragraphs of the chapter in which the allusions to Baudelaire are to be found, between the cult of form ('El arte literario . . . corre hacia la forma' [p. 300] and richness and subtlety of subject-matter ('[El arte literario c]ontiene la substancia entera del Universo' [p. 300]), serve and may well have served as an admirable counter to those who asserted that Baudelaire's was a purely external art devoid of substance or matter.

At the same time, it would be erroneous to suggest that the image of Baudelaire presented in El Modernismo was entirely unrelated to and quite disconnected from that which had been elaborated in Gómez Carrillo's earlier works. Indeed, it served to perpetuate and reinforce the impression created already in certain fundamental respects. By placing Baudelaire among the 'maestros' whose innovations in the domain of aesthetics had come to determine the direction in which art was developing, Gómez Carrillo reiterated the belief first expressed in Literatura extranjera that few had exerted so great and so profound an influence upon the evolution of

contemporary literature as the 'místico soñador y atormentado de los Pequeños Poemas en prosa y de las Flores del Mal' (Literatura extranjera, pp. 313-14). Moreover, by concentrating upon Baudelaire's contribution to the emergence of 'prosa artística', the Guatemalan provided a concrete illustration in support of this contention.

5. Conclusion

To what extent can Gómez Carrillo be considered to have redefined the parameters of Spanish critical response to Baudelaire? Clichés and innovative aspects are so closely integrated and so tightly interwoven in the image of Baudelaire presented in the cronista's critical writings that this question can only be answered by determining precisely where Gómez Carrillo introduced dimensions of novelty and where he followed existing patterns of response.

An initial consideration is that because Gómez Carrillo set out to reproduce the French perception of Baudelaire for the benefit of Spanish readers, both the composition of the image which he presented and the significance attributed to each of its component parts were derivative. This lack of originality on the part of the critic can also be taken to imply a lack of novelty within the Spanish context, in the sense that critical works by French writers reproducing the kind of perception of Baudelaire that Gómez Carrillo imported, were not unknown in Spain. One should not overlook, however, Gómez Carrillo's assumption that Spaniards were generally unaware of literary development in France. This would suggest that although Spaniards theoretically had access to an image of the kind presented by the cronista, they were not

necessarily familiar with it. To return to the question of novelty, the converse of this state of affairs would have been that the aspects of Gómez Carrillo's image of Baudelaire which derived from the French perception of the poet would only have appeared to be second-hand to the (presumed) minority of Spaniards who were acquainted with French critical sources expressing this perception. There would have been other groups of Spaniards for whom the image was partially or possibly even totally new. To a Spaniard acquainted with the critical image of Baudelaire diffused by Spanish critics, the composition of Gómez Carrillo's image would have seemed familiar, for it reiterated many of the stock themes; but he would have found the spirit in which these components were considered quite different from that to which he was accustomed. Whether, then, one considers the cronista's presentation of Baudelaire from a French point of view to have constituted, within the Spanish context, an innovation or a conformism depends on whether the former is defined virtually as the absence or unavailability of similar perspectives, or actually, in terms of the entering behaviour of those to whom the critical image was presented.

The true, that is, undisputable novelty of Gómez Carrillo's image of Baudelaire, however, is not to be found in either of the dimensions examined above. Rather, it resided in a certain quality pervading the image of the poet and deriving from the cronista's awareness of the Spanish audiences to whom he addressed himself. Using the French-derived image of Baudelaire as a framework, Gómez Carrillo created a legendary persona which could function, either as a dramatic hero to inspire and intrigue the partisans of the new poetry, or a scandalous renegade through whom he could express

his own defiant scorn of Spain's retrogressive literary majority.

6. El largo martirio de Baudelaire

This is a convenient juncture at which to examine critical reaction to Baudelaire in the work of Luis Bonafoux, a Puerto Rican who, like Gómez Carrillo, had left South America to work in Paris as a literary journalist and who also devoted his time to evoking literary life in the French capital for the benefit of Hispanic audiences.

The two occasions on which Baudelaire featured in Bonafoux's critical writings constitute exceptions to the pattern of critical response which had become established in respect of the poet. Baudelaire appeared not as he customarily did, in an incidental capacity, but as the object of discussion at that particular moment. The second occasion on which he was treated by Bonafoux, comprised, in fact, an article which actually bore the title 'Baudelaire'. This was only the second time that the poet had succeeded in inspiring sufficient interest to merit treatment of this order, the first being Clarín's famous essay in La Ilustración Ibérica.

The composition of the image presented on both occasions was, however, far from original. The passages referring to Baudelaire were filled with the overworked commonplaces which had long served to provide the standard popular image of 'el genio del Mal'. It was not Bonafoux's intention, however, to dispel the myths which had grown up around the poet. On the contrary, he found it convenient on these occasions to dwell upon the presuppositions which were generally held in respect of Baudelaire. To do so served his purpose, namely, to prick the conscience of

posterity, which had failed to make appropriate amends for the treatment meted out to Baudelaire because of his divergent behaviour. The two passages share a common inspiration: the erection of two monuments in Baudelaire's memory and honour. Bonafoux considered the statue placed in the Jardin du Luxembourg and that erected at the head of his tomb in the cimetière Montparnasse to be pathetically inadequate conciliatory gestures on the part of France's upright literary establishment and ones which failed entirely to compensate for the injustice and hardship which the poet had been forced to endure during his lifetime.

The first passage is to be found in a chapter of Huellas literarias (Paris 1894) entitled 'A través de París':

> Quiero más a Baudelaire que a Zola, porque se despreciaba más a sí mismo. Por eso, es decir, por el melancólico desdén que le inspiraba el éxito literario, sin excluir al de su propia personalidad, es más simpático que Balzac cuando quería competir con Napoleón, Cuvier y O'Connell, y alardeaba de llevar en su cabeza toda la sociedad en que vivió. Baudelaire no se excluía al mofarse y abominar de todo: empezaba por él mismo. ¡Gran talento! Comprendía que era un componente de la mentecatería universal, una nota más de la gran chirigota del género humano. Tomar a broma a los demás y tomarse en serio a sí mismo, es sencillamente tonto.
>
> Aunque no fuera más que por haberse burlado en la vida de que le levantaran después de muerto una estatua, merecía Baudelaire la que se le eligirá en honor de sus obras y en homenaje al temperamento del escritor 'inquieto, revoltoso, independiente, de un humorismo que tenía algo de anárquico'. Después de todo, nadie como él saboreó lo que ha llamado Jules Valles la vida injusta . . .
>
> Por supuesto, que si Baudelaire se enterara del horror que van a hacer con él, si supiera que le amenaza una estatua, pediría, para 'amenizar el acto', que le pusieran en grupo con Juana Duval, su Laura de carbón de piedra, su Venus negra, mas que un tito, traida por él del Indostán, sin sospechar que le persiguiría y ridiculizaría graznando amores en París. ¡Oh divorcio eterno del espíritu y la materia! ¡Baudelaire, el gran Baudelaire, viviendo maritalmente con una etiope burrísima y

> nauseabunda, que tenía mataduras como una yegua arestinosa! (pp. 204-05).

The second, that which bears the title 'Baudelaire' appeared originally on the 27 October, 1902, the day after the monument placed at the head of the poet's tomb was unveiled. The quotation below is taken from Aggeler's Baudelaire judged by Spanish Critics (Athens, [Georgia] 1971) (pp. 25-26):

> Hoy como un guiño de ojos irónicos en el fondo de las descripciones que esta Prensa ha hecho de la ceremonia . . . perpetrada ayer en honor de Baudelaire, que dio al mundo unas Flores del mal que nunca se marchitarán, y el mundo le devuelve el obsequio con unas flores de trapo, tardíamente puestas en una tumba olvidada. . . . [P]ocos escritores, incluyendo a Zola, han sido tan anatemizados como lo fue Baudelaire por eso que se llama reacción en política. . . . El admirable monumento erigido en honor de Baudelaire - el genio del Mal . . . recordóse el largo martirio de Baudelaire, su reputación de corruptor de la moral y de las buenas costumbres (!!), de escandaloso de forma y fondo, la airada negativa de Arago a aceptar su retrato en el museo del Luxemburgo, la sentencia que condenó sus Flores del mal en los Tribunales de justicia. . . . Tampoco la apoteosis de ayer fue merecida reparación de las injusticias que se hicieron al gran poeta de quien puede repetirse, con el gran Castelar, que le precedió el rayo y le acompañó la tormenta hasta en la borrascosa tarde de su entierro.

III. UN PESIMISTA DESOLADO

Modernista-novetayochista critical reaction to Baudelaire was not all that a true devotee of the poet's work in search of likeminded souls might have hoped. For the writers of Spain's fin de siglo, Baudelaire was a great poet, but not the greatest. They acknowledged him to be the founder of a new poetic tradition, but had ceased to consider him to figure among its most inspiring exponents. They admitted that his influence had been considerable,

but denied that his particular example would be the one which they would follow.

The critical reaction of José Martínez Ruíz, Azorín (1873-1967), provided an unexpected but refreshing exception to this general trend. Azorín remained convinced, when all about his contemporaries were extolling the poetic genius of Verlaine, that the author of Les Fleurs du Mal was the greatest of 'los modernos'. At a time when admiration of Baudelaire was rarely expressed without qualification of some form, Azorín's respect for Baudelaire remained untempered by reservations. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that he was one of only three writers - Clarín and Bonafoux were the other two - to devote an article to the French poet.

Azorín's attitude towards Baudelaire was, then, unusual in a writer of his literary generation. It was the factor which formed this attitude in the first place, however, that really set Azorín apart from the mainstream of modernista-noventayochista response to the poet and separated him further still from that of other schools of critical opinion. Unlike the general modernista reaction to Baudelaire, which reflected a reasonably sincere appreciation of the poet's merits but a limited sense of spiritual kinship, and in total contrast to that of a traditionalist like Valera, which was the result of ideological antipathy, Azorín's response to and understanding of the poet were determined by an affinity of sensibility and the ability to identify with Baudelaire's pessimistic temperament. That this was the case can be readily deduced from the critical comments involving the poet which are to be found in Azorin's work.

1. Un poeta verdadero

Baudelaire made his first appearance in Azorín's critical writings in Anarquistas literarios (1895), in a context which will be familiar to all who have followed the trail of critical reaction to the poet in Spain around the turn of the century. The subject under discussion was the poetry of none other than Núñez de Arce, whom Azorín deemed to be unworthy of the reputation he had come to enjoy. According to the critic, Núñez de Arce was not a true poet, 'un poeta en la verdadera significación de la palabra', but merely a 'rimador experto', a talented and accomplished versifier who had taken advantage of national preoccupation with Spain's decline at the time he began writing, to become a lyrical mouthpiece for collective sentiments. This being the case, Azorín explained, Núñez de Arce's poetry was nothing more than 'poesía oportunista', which, as far as he was concerned, was 'la menos poesía posible, porque más que creación original e íntima, es poesía de instrumentación (OC, I, 183). When, by way of contrast, Azorín turned to define what he considered to be the essence of true poetry, he affirmed his support for 'los modernos', who embraced the cult of artificiality. Baudelaire was the poet chosen by Azorín as the supreme representative of this tendency:

> La poesía verdadera es algo más que eso; es lo extraordinario, lo artificial, si se quiere. El verdadero poeta hace algo más que copiar: crea, corrige. Corrige la Naturaleza, y al corregirla estampa en ella su sello original, inimitable. Copiar de copias ajenas es labor de máquinas; hacer lo que nadie ha hecho, lo que se desvía de la tradición, es labor de artista. Por eso, para mí Baudelaire es quizá el mayor poeta contemporáneo (OC, I, 183).

Azorín went on to develop the point he had made, with Baudelaire

continuing to provide a source of exemplification. Having expressed approval in respect of the cult of artifice which had existed in France two centuries previously, when 'el arte era lo artificial, y el poeta ponía todo su empeño en reformar la Naturaleza' (OC, I, 185), the critic indicated that cultural history was repeating itself:

> ¿Qué es esto sino lo que piensan los modernos cuando proclaman que la mujer, para ser adorada, debe dorarse, cuando cantan las excelencias de la pintura cutánea, cuando, como el cantor de Les femmes damnées, prefieren, según frase de Gautier, a la muchacha sin otro cosmético que el agua de su palangana, a la mujer madura con sus recursos de coquetería sabia, ante su tocador cargado de frascos de esencias, de leche virginal, de cepillos de marfil, de tenacillas de acero? (OC, I, 185).

The extent to which Azorín's thoughts regarding artifice and mimetic art recall Baudelaire's ideas in respect of the same, suggest that the Spaniard had read and was influenced on this occasion by the poet's pronouncements on the subject, as well as by the passages in Gautier's essay on Baudelaire which deal with le goût de l'artifice, and which Azorín paraphrased on this occasion. The way in which the Spaniard used terms such as 'la Naturaleza' and 'lo artificial' recalls the sense and significance with which these same terms had been invested by Baudelaire. Indeed, the conceptual basis upon which Azorín's case rested corresponds that adopted by Baudelaire when he declared: 'Qui oserait assigner à l'art la fonction stérile d'imiter la nature?' (OC, 562), to such a degree that it is necessary to appreciate the Frenchman's handling of the concepts and terminology involved in this aesthetic issue if Azorín's meaning is to become quite clear. Several illustrations of this are to be found. In the first place, 'mimetic art' and 'artific-

iality' are terms which are not usually deemed to occur within the same conceptual domain, and for Azorín to have used them in this way implies a revision of their commonly accepted sense, the nature of which can only be discovered by reference to Baudelaire's use of the same terms. Secondly, the idea that the type of poetry which Azorín referred to as 'poesía de instrumentación' was a form of mimetic art, may prove somewhat elusive unless copying nature is understood, as Baudelaire used it, to refer to the form of art which results when an artist accepts his subject matter uncritically and unquestioningly, and merely orchestrates it in the form in which it naturally appears according to existing generic conventions. Finally, the precise significance which Azorín attributed to the term 'artificial' within this context of debate only becomes apparent when it is understood not to signify 'unnatural' or 'denaturalised' (as its normal acceptation would imply), but to denote artistic subject matter which has not been preserved in its natural form, but transformed and transfigured by the active intervention of a voluntaristic personality. When Azorín spoke of the need to reform nature, he was echoing Baudelaire's pronouncement made in respect of fashion but equally applicable to the arts that 'la mode doit . . .être considérée . . . comme un essai permanent et successif de réformation de la nature' (OC, 562).

The accuracy with which a critic represents the thoughts or opinions of a writer and the degree to which he preserves their original sense is, naturally, of consequence to the image of that writer which the critic presents. The truer the representation, the greater the possibility that the writer will be understood on his own terms. The extent to which a critic is faithful to his

source, however, also says something about the motives which guide him to select that source and to present it in the way he does. This is certainly true in the case of Azorín's critical response to Baudelaire on this occasion. The Spaniard evoked Baudelaire's doctrine of artificiality accurately, appreciatively, and with approval. Herein, indeed, resides the novelty of Azorín's response to Baudelaire within the Spanish context. Although allusions to the poet's cult of artificiality had appeared in the work of other critics (Nordau for example), the spirit in which they had been made had been quite unlike that which Azorín displayed in Anarquistas literarios. Where others had eagerly exploited its controversiality to their own ends, Azorín chose it because it held a particular significance for him. Here, the critic's choice of subject, his treatment of that subject, and, by extension, the image of the poet which he presented, were the result of an ability to identify with Baudelaire's perception of the world.

A further criticism which Azorín levelled at Núñez de Arce was directed at the concept of civic poetry. Poetry which was of the people and for the people was, declared the critic, the antithesis of true art, which sought not to reflect collective preoccupations but to flee them. 'Lo vulgar', stressed Azorín, 'es el mayor enemigo del arte' (OC, I, 183). True artists were, then, by definition élitist and anti-popular, which explained, indicated the critic, why their work always failed to achieve the recognition which its merits from an aesthetic standpoint deserved:

> Este carácter [antipopular o elitista] del arte hace que los más grandes poetas sean los menos populares. No es de extrañar que en Francia, por ejemplo, Lamartine y Hugo lo sean mucho más que Banville y el autor de les fleurs

> du mal, no; porque estos últimos pertenecen por completo al grupo de artistas antidemocráticos (OC, I, 184).

Here once again Azorín's patent solidarity with 'los modernos' in general and Baudelaire in particular brought to critical reaction in Spain, a dimension which previously had been quite absent, except perhaps in the work of Gómez Carrillo, who nevertheless was less forthcoming in his appreciation of Baudelaire. Azorín's reflection here also represents a reversal of habitual trends in Spanish reaction to other French models. The veneration usually reserved for the likes of Hugo and Lamartine was replaced by a diffidence akin to that which Baudelaire himself might have displayed if any self-proclaimed artist who was not of the opinion that 'au public . . . il ne faut jamais présenter des parfums délicats qui l'exaspèrent, mais des ordures soigneusement choisies' (OC, 151).

2. Spiritual exile

The second occasion on which a Baudelairian presence is to be detected in the work of Azorín came in Diario de un enfermo (1901), when the Spanish critic paraphrased 'L'Albatros' (OC, 45):

> El poeta pinta la angustia trágica del alto y generoso espíritu, simbolizándola en cierto pájaro marino. El albatros se cierne gallardo en la inmensidad de los mares. Los marineros, en sus ratos de ocio, lo cogen. El albatros, sereno y raudo en el espacio, marcha desmañado y ridículo sobre la cubierta, entre la burla y la algazara de la dotación bárbara. Así el poeta . . .
>
> Exilé sur le sol au milieu des huées
>
> ses ailes de géant l'empêchent de marcher.
>
> (OC, I, 687)

This passage appeared as an incidental component in a fictional narrative, and it would therefore be somewhat presumptious to infer that Azorín paraphrased the poem at this juncture in order to make a specific point about art or the nature of the artist. As has been indicated above, however, a writer who when he recreates a source in his own words (as Azorín did here), preserves the original meaning of the source and who, furthermore, appears eager to convey this meaning accurately and who does so in a way that indicates that he appreciated and approved of that meaning, must surely be well-disposed towards that source even if the context in which it appears does not invite the reader to make such a deduction. Even, however, if one considers the choice of 'L'Albatros' only from the point of view of what it contributed to the image of the poet presented, and not in terms of the critic's motives, it does correspond to the facets presented in the reference to Baudelaire six years previously in Anarquistas literarios. 'L'Albatros' reiterates and therefore serves to reinforce the point made then that 'poet' and 'masses' are antithetical concepts. The choice of 'L'Albatros', however, allows this notion to be presented in greater depth, for the poem explores the nature of the relationship between the poet and the masses, as well as the poet's superiority, in greater detail. The conclusions are reflected in Azorín's comprehensive and accurate summary of the poem, which successfully communicates the notions present in the poem, that the poet's suffering at the hands of the masses is not only material (as was suggested in Anarquistas literarios when Azorín pointed out that elitist art was commercially unviable), but psychological and physical. And the reason why the poet is

pilloried by the masses is that he is a spiritual exile in the world to which he is physically bound, and is therefore ill-fitted to adapt to its ways.

3. El clown viejo

Azorín's critical response to Baudelaire reached a climactic culmination in 1904, when an article which the critic had devoted to the poet appeared in Alma Española on the last day of January. The article is not excessively long and quotation in full is therefore justified:

> Saludemos: Carlos Baudelaire es el padre de la poesía decadente moderna. Baudelaire va afeitado cuidadosamente, ciñe su cuello con una gran corbata que cae en un ancho lazo sobre el pecho, lleva un gabán holgado a modo de sotana. Y lo que en su fisonomía resalta, son los ojos brillantes e inquisitivos, ojos de iluminado, y la boca sensual y desdeñosa. ¿Quién no recuerda sus Flores del mal? Están en ellas todas estas visiones extrañas y violentas que luego se han vulgarizado un poco en la literatura. Y hay, sobre todo, una sensación del amor místico y brutal al mismo tiempo, atormentado, trágico, de una intensa voluptuosidad malsana y perversa.
>
> Baudelaire, como Flaubert, como Taine, son coetáneos, como todos los grandes pensadores, es un pesimista desolado. Sus Pequeños poemas en prosa son acaso con La educación sentimental de Flaubert, lo más amargo que ha producido la literatura contemporánea. Son dos libros esencialmente místicos; es decir, dos libros que nos revelan la vanidad de las andanzas y los afanes de los hombres. ¿Hay algo más triste que este pequeño poema del clown viejo? Un clown tiene su barraca en una feria, al final de la avenida, en que están todas situadas, un poco lejos del bullicio y de la aglomeración de la muchedumbre. Su barraca no es lujosa como la otra: el está ya viejo. Y vocea, cuenta las maravillas que el público puede ver dentro; pero el público no entra. Y ya cuando la multitud se dispersa indiferente, él soló ante su barraca desdeñada por todos, calla e inclina la cabeza tristemente.
>
> Este clown somos nosotros, los periodistas: toda la vida hemos estado entreteniendo con nuestra pluma al público; cuando somos jóvenes,

> acaso entra el público en nuestra barraca,
> es decir, en nuestros articulos; pero cuando
> hemos llegado a la vejez, cuando nos sentimos
> rendidos, nadie lee ni toma nuestros trabajos,
> y nosotros acabamos por callar tristemente
> (p. 3).

This article was preceded by a pen-and-ink reproduction of Carjat's well-known photograph of the poet (OC, 3), and the first paragraph constituted an attempt by Azorín to evoke in words the impression created by this striking portrait. It is inevitable that the image resulting should have been conditioned by the critic's own subjective perception of Baudelaire. The paragraph opened with a categorical statement identifying Baudelaire as a key figure within the development of contemporary poetry and literary sensibility. One might also venture to suggest that this opening line may have conditioned the reader's understanding of what followed, by providing a conceptual framework from which to view the evolution of the exposé. Having established this basic fact, Azorín attempted a verbal reconstruction of the visual image, guiding the reader's perception of the physical components of the portrait by the addition of connotative inferences. He began by examining the poet's style of dress. By drawing attention to the poet's preoccupation with his toilette ('Baudelaire va afeitado cuidadosamente'), his external elegance ('ciñe su cuello con una gran corbata' . . .'), and the vaguely priestly air which his loose-fitting coat 'a modo de sotana' lent to his appearance, Azorín succeeded in capturing the blend of physical discipline, refined materialism, and latent spirituality which is the hallmark of the dandy. The description also invites one to recall Rubén Darío's definition of art as 'el más bello de los sacerdocios' (OC, II, 362).

The critic then turned to the poet's physiognomy, with the aim of identifying those traits betraying the sensibility which lay beneath them. The visionary, the voluptuary and, the spiritual aristocrat, conscious that his innate superiority is a source of suffering as much as his hate of other mortals, all inextricably combined in the 'ojos brillantes e inquisitivos' and the 'boca sensual y desdeñosa'. This was, in many respects, the image of Baudelaire which had predominated in the Spanish context, and Azorín may well have been aware of this when he made the transition from Baudelaire's personality to his art with the confident assumption '¿Quién no recuerda sus Flores del mal?' Azorín's reference to the extent to which this aspect of Baudelaire's work had come to provide the clichés of contemporary literature, 'todas esas visiones extrañas y violentas que luego se han vulgarizado un poco en literatura', provides a further indication of the notoriety which Baudelaire had achieved on the strength of the 'shock value' of his art, and also of how the aspects of his work which readers found controversial were susceptible to stylisation without being truly understood. Azorín concluded the first paragraph with a comprehensive synthesis of the qualities pervading Les Fleurs du Mal, which culminated in 'una sensación de amor místico y brutal al mismo tiempo, atormentado, trágico, de una intensa voluptuosidad malsana y perversa'.

In the second paragraph, Azorín continued to pursue the theme of Baudelaire's spiritual disquiet, this time with reference to the prose poems. In the first three sentences he continued to enumerate aspects of this theme as he had done in the first paragraph, while, at the same time, drawing his exposé towards a focal

illustration, an example which synthesised and summarised all that he had indicated and implied regarding Baudelaire up until then. It was in the fourth sentence of the second paragraph that he introduced 'este pequeño poema del clown viejo', clearly an allusion to 'Le Vieux Saltimbanque' (OC, 156-57). This was followed by a summary of the central scene from the prose poem. Azorín concluded the article with a final paragraph in which he indicated the relevance of 'Le Vieux Saltimbanque' to his own situation.

When paraphrasing 'Le Vieux Saltimbanque', Azorín adhered to facts of the narrative in all but one respect, to wit, the ageing entertainer of the Spaniard's succinct résumé continued to call 'roll up' to the milling crowds until their persistent indifference forced him to accept defeat and to fall sadly mute. Baudelaire's decrepid mountebank, on the contrary, maintained from the outset the silence of abject resignation, and did not even attempt to attract the attention of the revellers bustling by:

> Partout la joie, le gain, la débauche; partout la certitude du pain pour les lendemains; partout l'explosion frénétique de la vitalité. Ici la misère absolue, la misère affublée, pour comble d'horreur, de haillons comiques, où la nécessité, bien plus que l'art, avait introduit le contraste. Il ne riait pas, le misérable! Il ne pleurait pas, il ne dansait pas, il ne gesticulait pas, il ne criait pas; il ne chantait aucune chanson, ni gaie, ni lamentable, il n'implorait pas. Il était muet et immobile. Il avait renoncé, il avait abdiqué. Sa destinée était faite (OC, 157).

The final paragraph of the article provides a possible explanation as to why Azorín's résumé of this section of the prose poem, which in all other respects tallied with the original, should diverge on this point. Just as Baudelaire concluded by comparing

his jaded Saltimbanque to the ageing poet in decline, consigned by public, friends and family alike to ignominious oblivion, so Azorín appropriated the central image of the prose poem to symbolise his own fate: that of the journalist whose work no longer succeeded in inspiring the readership. One might argue that precisely because Azorín applied the prose poem to his own situation, it was necessary to adapt the content accordingly. Bearing in mind that the journalist is preoccupied primarily with capturing an audience, the modification which Azorín made was quite in keeping with the parallel he ultimately established between his own fate and that of the 'clown viejo'.

The discrepancy between the text of the original prose poem and Azorín's résumé may appear to be trivial, particularly as the essential meaning of the poem as reflected in the Spaniard's transposition remained unaffected by the modification. The very fact that Azorín was able to manipulate the facts of the narrative without distorting or changing its fundamental symbolic meaning, however, provides a singular illustration of the unique position which he occupied within the body of critics, aspects of whose work comprise critical reaction to Baudelaire in Spain. Azorín's use of Baudelairian sources in this article reflected the degree to which he was able to identify with the poet's worldview, the symptoms of identification being the ability to preserve the meaning of the element wherein interest resides, while assuring that it corresponds to one's own case. Although this reached its climax in Azorín's borrowing of the image of the Saltimbanque to define his own condition, it was prefigured in other parts of the article: in the perspicacious description of Baudelaire's

temperament, which shows understanding through affinity of sensibility; and in the titles accorded to the poet of 'gran pensador', proving that for Azorín, the truths which Baudelaire uncovered were both relevant and revelatory, and 'el padre de la poesía decadente moderna', revealing how the critic grasped the profundity of his contribution to modern poetry and poetics.

4. Conclusion

The dimension of novelty which Azorín's response to Baudelaire contributed to Spanish critical reaction to the French poet lies not in the composition of the image which the Spaniard diffused through his critical writings, but in the perspective from which he viewed the aspects of Baudelaire's work to which he accorded emphasis. The aspects discussed in his writings - Décadence, artificiality, malaise, mysticism, and the notion of the elitist artist - had already provided the subject for critical debate to a greater or lesser degree, having been reviewed by commentators of diverse ideological and aesthetic affiliations on a number of occasions. No critic, however, had examined these features with the sense of approval and affinity which characterised Azorín's response to the French poet. Consequently, Azorín's critical reaction to Baudelaire is unique, standing alone, not only among that of Spanish critics as a whole, but even among the generation of innovators to whom he belonged. Not one of the modernistas, whom critics have assumed to have enjoyed a closer affinity with the French poets than members of the Generación del '98, can claim to have admired Baudelaire less reservedly than Azorín, or to presented in his critical writings an image less tempered by qualifications, doubts and reservations.

IV. 'SATANISM' AND SPLEEN REAPPRAISED

In l'Influence française dans l'oeuvre de Rubén Darío (Paris 1925), Erwin K. Mapes postulated that the Nicaraguan poet's broad and cosmopolitan culture had its origins not so much in his schooling as in the 'lectures prodigieuses qu'il fit plus tard en plusieures langues, notamment l'espagnol, le français et l'anglais' (p. 13). Darío's initiation to contemporary French literature really came about, however, when he started work as a journalist with La Epoca in Chile. He took up the post in 1887 and there followed a period of which Mapes says '[n]ous verrons que l'influence française, subie par le poète dès son arrivée à Santiago, provenait de sources multiples. Elle s'exerça sur lui, non seulement par les livres qu'il lut en nombre considérable, mais aussi par les décors luxueux des salons où il lisait et travaillait et par les conversations quotidiennes de ses amis et de ses collègues auxquelles il se mêlait' (p. 17). Darío's critical writings bear witness to his saturation in French literature and culture. Allusions to and quotations from French writers are abundant, not to mention essays and articles specifically dedicated to things or persons Gallic. An extensive familiarity with the work of Baudelaire is also apparent. The poet is alluded to and quoted on a number of occasions, and his work provided a source of terminology which Darío coined out of convenience at appropriate moments. Before discussing the nature and quality of Darío's critical reaction to Baudelaire, however, it will be useful to establish the extent of Darío's knowledge of the poet and his work.

1. Les Fleurs du Mal

Two of the quotations which Darío made from the poems are to

be found in the series of essays on modern men of letters entitled Los Raros (1896). In a eulogistic portrait of Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Darío paraphrased François Coppée's account of the aristocrat-poet's first appearance among the circle of the Parnassians. Darío recounted that Villiers, having dispensed with the formalities of introduction in an unpretentious fashion, sat at a piano and accompanied himself as he sung 'La Mort des Amants', which he had set to music:

> [C]anta . . . una melodía que acaba de improvisar en la calle, una vaga y misteriosa melopeya que acompaña, duplicando la impresión turbadora, el bello soneto de Baudelaire:
>
> Nous aurons des lits pleins d'odeurs légers,
>
> Des divans profonds comme des tombeaux, etc
> (OC, II, 309).

Another quotation is to be found in the essay on Leconte de Lisle. In an impressionistic review of the Poèmes barbares, Darío recalled that the albatross which featured in one of these poems also made an appearance in Les Fleurs du Mal:

> Oiréis entre tanto un canto de muerte de los galos del siglo sexto, clamores de moros medievales; veréis la caza del águila, en versos que no haría mejores un numen artífice; después del águila vuela el albatros, el prince des nuages de Baudelaire (OC, II, 281).

A gap of some ten years occurred before a quotation from Baudelaire once more appeared in Darío's critical writings. A strophe from 'les Phares' is to be found in a chapter on the painter Henri de Groux in Opiniones (1906); the context itself is a quotation: a judgement passed on de Groux by Jules Destrée.

> 'Al lado de ese temperamento de colorista que le acerca [a Henri de Groux] a Delacroix al punto que se le pudiera aplicar muy adecuadamente los versos de Baudelaire:

> Delacroix, lac de sang, hanté de mauvais anges,
> ombragé par un bois de sapins toujours verts,
> ou [sic] sous un ciel chagrin, des fanfares étranges
> passent, comme un soupir étouffé de Weber'
> (OC, I, 395).

The final quotation from Les Fleurs du Mal followed a year later, in an essay entitled 'La Labor de Vittorio Pica' (dated Paris 1907). The interpretation of Baudelaire's sensibility made in the lines which precede the quotation from 'Sonnet pour s'excuser de ne pas accompagner un ami à Namur', reveal some features which the Nicaraguan considered as characteristic of the French poet:

> Los frontispicios simbólicos, los dibujos
> incisivos, la cruel interpretación de vida
> bajo formas visionarias, la obsesión de la
> lujuria y de la muerta, como en su amigo
> Baudelaire, anuncian al belga Félicien Rops.
>
> Qui n'est pas un gran [sic] prix de Rome,
>
> mais dont le talent est haut comme
>
> la pyramide de Chéops,
>
> como dijera de él/el autor de las Flores del
> Mal (OC, I, 762).

The presence of these quotations tend to be relatively incidental, that is, they appear to have been chosen primarily for their convenience and relevance to the contexts in which they appear, and not because they were intended to illustrate particular aspects of Baudelaire's work or sensibility. A quite different impression is to be gained, however, from some of the passing allusions which the Nicaraguan made to poems from Les Fleurs du Mal. These brief references reflect a far greater selectivity on the part of Darío, and consequently provide a valuable source of information regarding the image of the poet which was uppermost in his imagination. Los raros, where the majority of allusions of this order are to be found,

contains the greatest number of references to one poem: 'Les Litanies de Satan' (OC, 120). This poem is mentioned four times in the book, two of which are in the essay on Jean Richepin. Darío, like Valera, considered Baudelaire and Richepin to be the poets of scandal, sin and 'satanism':

> En Las Blasfemias [de Richepin] brota una demencia vertiginosa. El título no más del poema, toca un bombo infamante. Lo han tocado antes, Baudelaire, con sus Letanías de Satan, y el autor de la Oda a Priapo (OC, II, 335).

A few lines further on, Darío observed that '[l]as letanías de Baudelaire tienen su mejor parafrasis en la apología que hace Richepin del Bajísimo' (OC, II, 337). In another essay on the poetry of Théodore Hannon, Darío made another comparison with Baudelaire's poem:

> Los Soretos sinceros son tres canciones del amor moderno, llenas de rosas y de besos, y sus iconos bizantinos son obras maestras de degeneración. Tomando por modelo las letanías infernales de Baudelaire, escribe las del Ajenjo, que, a decir verdad, le resultaron más que medianas (OC, II, 434).

The term 'degeneración', borrowed, no doubt, from the psychologist critics, served as a timely reminder that the subjects of Darío's essays were indeed 'raros'. The final reference to 'Les Litanies de Satan' appears in the course of a critical appraisal of Edouard Dubus's La Mensonge d'Automne, of which Darío wrote, in a manner reminiscent of Gómez Carrillo's comments on Carducci in Literatura extranjera, that

> Las letanías que siguen tienen su clarísimo origen en Baudelaire; pero tanto Dubus, como Hannon, como todos los que han querido renovar las admirables de Satan, no han alcanzado la señalada altura (OC, II, 424).

The number of allusions to this poem in comparison with those made in respect of others seems to indicate that Darío's perception of Baudelaire was conditioned markedly by the 'satanic' aspects of the Frenchman's work. Further allusions to Baudelaire reveal, in fact, that Darío was very much prone to equate Baudelaire with the morally controversial dimension of his work as a whole. This is apparent from the contexts in which Baudelaire was chosen to appear on a number of occasions. Thus a reference to the 'condemned' poems (those expurgated from the 1857 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal) in an essay on Rachilde - 'Ella . . . ha bebido en el mismo vaso que Baudelaire, el Baudelaire de las poesías condenadas' (OC, II, 373) - appears in the midst of a vivid evocation of the authoress, who Darío described as

> una mujer extraña y escabrosa, de un espíritu único esfíngicamente solitario en este tiempo finisecular . . . un 'caso' curiosísimo y turbador . . . satánica flor de decadencia, picantemente perfumada, misteriosa y hechicera y mala como un pecado (OC, II, 365).

The same can be said of an allusion to 'Au lecteur' (OC, 43) appearing in the chapter devoted to the 'Comte de Lautréamont', Isidore Ducasse:

> ¡Y el final del primer canto [de los Chants de Maldoror] ! Es un agradable cumplimiento para el lector el que Baudelaire le dedica en las Flores del Mal, al lado de esta despedida: Adieu, vieillard, et pense à moi, si tu m'as lu. Toi, jeune homme, ne te désespère point; car tu as un ami dans le vampire, malgré ton opinion contraire. Et comptant l'acarus Sarcopte qui produit la gale, tu auras deux amis (OC, II, 441).

Darío's sensitivity to the côté scandaleux of Baudelaire's poetry is further brought to mind by the two occasions when the

Nicaraguan coined terminology originating in Les Fleurs du Mal as a convenient form of critical shorthand. In both cases the terms in question were drawn from the dimension of Baudelaire's poetic universe characterised by spiritual anguish and malaise. In Los raros, for example, Darío observed in respect of the poet Théodore Hannon that '[t]ambién, como el autor de Las Flores del Mal, le persigue el spleen' (OC, II,431). The notoriety which the term 'spleen' in its Baudelairian sense had acquired by the time Darío made this remark makes it unlikely that his choice of the term was governed or even influenced by a predisposition to dwell on the less salubrious side of Baudelaire's sensibility. Why the phrase 'el deseo del anonadamiento' should have come to Darío's mind when he was composing an essay on Julián del Casal which appeared in Páginas de arte, on the contrary, finds a quite plausible explanation in the memorability which the poem 'Le Goût du néant' (OC, 90) could have attained in a mind sensitised to the more extreme manifestations of the mal du siècle. Lexical similarities lead one to assume that the Spanish phrase was a translation of the French one. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the sense which it acquired in Darío's hands was the same as that with which it had originally been invested when confected by Baudelaire. In both cases it refers to the desire for insensibility as a means by which to escape spiritual anguish.

The remaining allusions to Baudelaire's verse poetry which are to be found in Darío's critical writings do not fall into any clearly recognisable pattern of significance. They simply demonstrate that the Nicaraguan was conversant with other commonly recognised aspects of the French poet's work. Darío made a

passing allusion to the strain of Parnassian exoticism running through Les Fleurs du Mal when he remarked in a travel chronicle written in 1900 that '[l]o que expone Ceylán daría los materiales preciosas para un poema de Leconte o un soneto de Baudelaire' (OC, III, 420). The theme of the cat, overworked since Baudelaire had put it into general circulation in 1857, provided another pretext for Darío to air his knowledge of Les Fleurs du Mal in La caravana pasa (1903):

> Hasta hoy, en este favoritismo de que gozan, la gente de buena voluntad veía algo como una coerción benéfica en los caballos y los gatos; pero los gatos se han dado demasiado a la literatura desde Baudelaire, y sufren, a causa del civet de liebre, la predilección de los cocineros de rôtisserie mediocres (OC, III, 617).

2. Petits poëmes en prose

The number of references to the prose poems in Darío's work indicates that his familiarity with Le Spleen de Paris equalled that which he displayed in respect of Les Fleurs du Mal.

Darío seems to have found 'Any where out of the world' particularly memorable. This prose poem, evoking the poet's unceasing quest for novel sensations in which to lose himself, and thereby escape the torments of spiritual anguish, emerges as the piece from the Petits poëmes . . . most frequently referred to in the Nicaraguan's critical work. Speaking of the poetry of Carrasquilla Mallarino, Darío observed that 'hay tendencias a lo exótico, al japonismo; hay obsesión sensual y carnal; hay el insaciable deseo baudeleriano de marchar siempre, de ir siempre lejos, aun fuera del mundo: 'Any where out of the world' (OC, II, 644). He also acknowledged the existence of a similar tendency in Julián del Casal, nurtured by the readings which had such a profound formative

effect upon the Cuban's sensibility:

> Por último, el veneno, la morfina espiritual de ciertos libros que le hicieron llegar a sentir el deseo del anondamiento, la partida al país del misterio, o a cualquiera parte que no fuese este pequeño mundo: Any where out of the world! (OC, I, 694).

Darío also came to find significance in the title of the prose poem as a result of personal experience. Himself an inveterate traveller, he declared in an account of his wanderings written in 1900 (but not published until 1906 in the aptly titled Peregrinaciones) that '[n]unca, sino en los viajes, se puede comprender mejor el pequeño poema de Baudelaire: Any where out of the world' (OC, III, 528). He clarified precisely what he understood the origins of the desire to keep on travelling to be, in a eulogistic reminiscence of a visit to Granada, penned in 1904:

> He dejado Granada con pena, por su corazón de mármol labrado, por su viejo corazón, por sus divinas vejeces, que hace más adorables una naturaleza singular. Es uno de los pocos lugares de la tierra en que uno quería permanecer, si no fuese que el espíritu tiende adelante, siempre más adelante, si es posible fuera del mundo, anywhere out of the world (OC, III, 912).

But did the meaning which Darío conferred upon the desire to be 'any where out of the world' really coincide with that which Baudelaire had intended in his prose poem? When the way in which the Nicaraguan appears to have understood the phrase is compared with the way in which it was originally used by Baudelaire, a discrepancy emerges regarding the motives which the respective parties considered to lay at the root of this desire. In the prose poem the emphasis is clearly on escape rather than simply on perpetual movement. Life in the world from which the poet's

soul 'wisely' exhorts him to escape is compared to a permanent state of infirmity: 'Cette vie est un hôpital'. Furthermore, the 'patients' in this 'hospital' are suffering from incurable restlessness and a permanent sense of frustration. '[C]haque malade', explains the narrator, 'est possédé du désir de changer de lit'. The narrator's own plight furnishes a poignant illustration of this spiritual malady. He feels that 'je serais toujours bien là où je ne suis pas'. Darío, on the other hand, seems to have invested the term with more positive connotations. Instead of representing the anguished desire to escape from a perpetual sense of spiritual unease and dissatisfaction, it appears to signify the impatient quest for realms more intoxicating and horizons more vast and splendid to the spirit than those delimiting the confines of the physical world: a domain too small, too finite to satisfy man's 'goût de l'infini'. For Darío - and this is particularly evident from the way he used the term in the context of his own experience - the phrase 'any where out of this world' suggested an insatiable appetite for spiritual stimulation, which was in marked contrast to Baudelaire's desperate wish to transcend the horrors of this mortal coil.

The discrepancy in meaning which distinguishes Baudelaire's original use of the phrase 'any where out of the world' (15) from the sense which it acquired subsequently in Darío's critical writings and travelogues invites speculation regarding the extent to which the Nicaraguan actually appreciated the original semantic value of the terminology which he coined here and on other occasions. Conjecture of this order would tend, however, to presuppose that Darío's use of the phrase provided an accurate representation of his understanding of it, which on this occasion

there are grounds to suspect may not have been the case.
While it is certain that in Darío's critical writings, 'any where out of the world' acquired connotations different from those which Baudelaire had developed in his prose poem, reservations must be entertained regarding the degree to which the Nicaraguan's use of the phrase tells the whole truth in respect of his real understanding of it. There is evidence to suggest that when Darío appropriated terminology from the works of other writers or called to mind some similarity between two works, he may not have been excessively preoccupied either with the precise meaning embodied in the source or sources in question, or with ensuring that he conveyed a faithful impression of what he understood by them.
As the remaining two references to prose poems in Darío's critical writings demonstrate on the vast number of occasions when he coined phrases such as 'any where out of the world', he may have simply been aware of their approximate relevance to what he was discussing at the time, and their potential as critical shorthand in this context. Thus it was that, having indicated in Los raros (OC, II, 342) how a stanza in a poem from Jean Richepin's Mes paradis resembled Baudelaire's 'Enivrez-vous' (OC, 173-74) and a work by Gautier, Darío explained that his reason for so doing had been quite unrelated to making any significant point, in this case regarding influences at work upon Richepin:

> Lo que llama al paso mi atención son dos coincidencias que no tocan en nada la amazónica originalidad de Richepin, pero me traen a la memoria conocidísimas obras de dos grandes maestros (OC, II, 342).

Similarly, in an essay entitled 'Los poetas' written in 1899 and published in España contemporánea (1901), Darío once more indulged

his passion for passing undeveloped analogies with a reference to a prose poem clearly identifiable as 'Le Vieux Saltimbanque' (OC, 156-57):

> Manuel del Palacio, tan conocido en el Río de la Plata, vive también flotante en las brumas de su Olimpo muerto. Bueno, triste, aún guarda una chispa de entusiasmo que brilla en el fino azul de sus ojos penetrantes. Esa tristeza me recuerda cierto pequeño poema de Baudelaire, el de los viejos juglares (OC, III, 250)

Although it cannot be denied that these brief allusions are not always totally inconsequential and do occasionally shed some light on Darío's perception of Baudelaire's work, it would clearly be unwise to treat them as if they were sophisticated expositions of his understanding of the sources involved.

3. Edgar Allan Poe

The tragic figure of Edgar Allan Poe inspired among the modernistas an admiration which in some respects came close to equalling that which was shown towards Paul Verlaine. This meant that for many modernistas Baudelaire was the discoverer of Poe as much as the satanic visionary of Les Fleurs du Mal. Darío acknowledged as much when he wrote in the chapter devoted to Camille Mauclair in Los raros that

> [c]ada día se afirma con mayor brillo la gloria ya sin sombras de Edgar Poe, desde su prestigiosa introducción por Baudelaire, coronada luego por el espíritu transcendentalmente comprensivo y seductor de Stéphane Mallarmé (OC, II, 250).

Although for critical purposes Darío treated Baudelaire and Poe as separate entities, one cannot discount entirely the possibility that a degree of affinity between the American and the Frenchman may have been inferred by certain comments. This

possibility is reinforced by the implication, in an article on Maurice Rollinat published in 1906, that the difference between Baudelaire and Poe was merely one of degree:

> Maurice Rollinat fué un poeta de talento, ni mayor, ni menor; en todo caso, en las antologías entrará como un poeta menor, a causa de ser su obra casi toda reflejo y eco; reflejo lejano de Poe, eco de Baudelaire (OC, I, 283).

This being the case, it is possible that some readers may have taken what Darío said of Poe to apply to Baudelaire as well.

In the chapter devoted to Poe in Los raros, Darío described the American as a being endowed with a superior sensibility: 'de los escogidos, de los aristócratas del espíritu' (OC, II, 262); as a dreamer lost in ideal worlds: 'En Poe reina el "ensueño" desde la niñez' (OC, II, 267); as a tormented visionary: 'el pálido y melancólico visionario que dio al arte un mundo nuevo' (OC, II, 263); and as a victim of spiritual anguish: 'el soñador infeliz, príncipe de los poetas malditos' (OC, II, 260). Darío's image of Poe coincides with that he formulated of Baudelaire on a number of counts. The Frenchman was also seen to be a victim of malaise, a spiritual aristocrat exiled in a stultifying universe populated by insensitive plebeians. Yet although Darío's critical comments concerning the two writers might have led a reader to conclude that they belonged to the same genus of poet, it is unlikely that such a reader would have placed them within the same species. The Poe inhabiting the Nicaraguan's critical universe was an ethereal, semi-divine entity, with none of the violent, 'satanic' attributes of the Frenchman who professed to be his kindred spirit. He was a purified, canonised version of the macabre analyst of spiritual torment who penned the Tales of

Mystery and Imagination, a semi-divine entity who looked beyond his earthbound existence to realms celestial instead of cursing his lot with Baudelairian blasphemies. It is possible that Darío found Poe's expression of malaise rather more acceptable than Baudelaire's, but this is an issue which will be re-examined in due course.

4. Art criticism

As Darío's insatiable curiosity for matters cultural spread to the visual and plastic arts, so his critical writings on these subjects reveal that he was familiar with Baudelaire's art criticism. Two of the instances which bear witness to this fact indicate that he found one item of Baudelairian critical terminology particularly memorable. Speaking of the Madrid salon of 1901, he remarked that

> [e]ntre lo expuesto hay regular cantidad de grandes machines, y en casi todas un lujo de tubos se desborda, una agrupación de todas las charangas de los ocres y de los rojos (OC, III, 177).

In the preceding year, he had made the following statement regarding the public's taste in art with reference to the pictures exhibited at the Grand Palais in Paris:

> Atraen al gran público dos especies de trabajos; las grandes machines de historia, y sobre todo de batalla, y los desnudos (OC, III, 403).

The term grandes machines is taken from Baudelaire's L'Oeuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix (OC, 530-42). The following quotation, in which it appears, illustrates that Baudelaire used it to describe compositions which were grandiose in all respects:

> Qu'est-ce que Delacroix? Quels furent son rôle

> et son devoir en ce monde? Telle est la première question à examiner. Je serai bref et j'aspire à des conclusions immédiates. La Flandre a Rubens, l'Italie a Raphaël et Véronèse; la France a Lebrun, David et Delacroix.
> Un esprit superficiel pourra être choqué, au premier aspect, par l'accouplement de ces noms, qui représentent des qualités et des méthodes si différentes. Mais un oeil spirituel plus attentif verra tout de suite qu'il y a entre tous une parenté commune, une espèce de fraternité ou de cousinage dérivant de leur amour du grand, du national, de l'immense et de l'universel, amour qui s'est toujours exprimé dans la peinture dite décorative ou dans les grandes machines (OC, 530).

Further testimony of Darío's knowledge of Baudelaire's art criticism is to be found in a study of Clésinger in Opiniones (1906):

> [Clésinger] estaba lejos de la chatura de muchos de sus contemporáneos patentados, y, en ciertas creaciones suyas, fué, puede decirse, un revolucionario, un 'nuevo', y no sin razón tuvo la simpatía y el aplauso de Gautier, y principalmente en este caso, de Baudelaire (OC, I, 367).

On this occasion, Baudelaire was identified by association as an innovator who appreciated innovations wrought by others. It should be noted, however, that this is pure supposition on Darío's part. That Baudelaire approved of Clésinger's work is for the most part apparent in the comments he made, but there is little in what the Frenchman had to say in this respect to suggest that he found the sculptor a particularly original artist.

In the year following the reference to Clésinger in Opiniones (1906), Darío quoted with approval Baudelaire's scornful dismissal of the work of the caricaturist Charlet. In an essay entitled 'La labor de Vittorio Pica', the Nicaraguan remarked that '[s]us estampas [de Charlet] justifican completamente el juicio severo que ha dado de él Baudelaire, proclamándolo fabricant de niaiseries

nationales, commerçant patenté de proverbes politiques (OC, I, 780).

Once again, little of significance regarding Darío's response to Baudelaire is to be gleaned from the few allusions to the Frenchman's art criticism in the Nicaraguan's critical writings. The form in which they appeared, as incidental comments and borrowings, is quite in keeping with Darío's eminently impressionistic style of art criticism, in which perspicacious or sensitive observations were rarely followed up with analyses or clarification. There is little in the cluster of components drawn from this area of Baudelaire's critical activity to indicate that Darío was influenced in his choice by any more than the memorability of certain terms, phrases and judgements which the Frenchman had pronounced in his capacity of art critic. Any significance which they hold is, then, purely in respect of the image of the poet diffused. It is interesting to note, even though it may be no more than coincidence, that when the allusions to Baudelaire are abstracted from their context in Darío's critical writings, they combine to give the impression that the Frenchman was an innovator, a revolutionary striving to raise art to the status of a noble, idealistic pursuit to which it should rightfully aspire.

5. Les Paradis Artificiels

There were four occasions in Darío's critical writings on which the Nicaraguan called to mind Baudelaire's intriguing study of the effects of drugs and alcohol and the motives which lead man to seek to experience them. On only one of these occasions did the poet refer to the study itself, and this was in connection with the discovery of Thomas de Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium Eater outside England:

> He aquí que se presentará a Thomas de Quincey, conocido tan solamente en Europa después de la publicación de los Paraísos artificiales de Baudelaire, y cuyas Confesiones, de lo más interesante que para el estudio de la anomalía cerebral puede encontrarse (OC, I, 532).

on the other three occasions when Darío made reference to artificial paradises, he appropriated the term for his own purposes in much the same way as he did with 'any where out of the world'. The first is to be found in the section of España contemporánea (1901) entitled 'Carnaval':

> Parece que pasase con los pueblos lo que con los individuos, que estas embriagueces [conseguidas mediante el opio del placer y del comportamiento desenfrenado típicos de la fiesta] fuesen semejantes a la de aquellas que buscan alivio u olvido de sus dolores refugiándose en los peligrosos paraísos artificiales (OC, III, 89).

Reflecting some eleven years later in Autobiografía (1912) on how he spent his youth in Buenos Aires, the Nicaraguan narrated that

> [p]asaba, pues, mi vida bonaerense escribiendo artículos para la Nación, y versos que fueron más tarde mis Prosas Profanas, y buscando por la noche el peligroso encanto de los paraísos artificiales (OC, I, 116).

The term acquired a similar metaphorical significance in Historia de mis libros, when Darío made reference to his obsession with death:

> ¡Ay! Nada ha amargado más las horas de meditación de mi vida que la certeza tenebrosa del fin. ¡Y cuántas veces me he refugiado en algún paraíso artificial, poseído del horror fatídico de la muerte! (OC, I, 210-11).

The meaning which Darío conferred upon the term on these three occasions did not correspond precisely to that which Baudelaire intended it to acquire within the context of his study. The

Nicaraguan, as R. A. Cardwell has quite rightly observed in an article entitled 'Darío and El Arte Puro: the enigma of life and the beguilement of art' (BHS, 47 [1970], pp. 37-51), used the term to signify 'échappatoires where he flees the torments and disillusionments of this world' (p. 42). This acceptation, continues Cardwell, is in marked contrast to that inferred by the Frenchman:

> While Baudelaire uses the term with specific reference to hallucinogens Darío's usage over a variety of contexts seems to suggest a much looser connotation that embraces evasive transcendental urges often in terms of idealised exotic worlds distant in time and space, erotic embraces and celestial imagery (p. 42 n).

It is true that Baudelaire used the term 'paradis artificiels' in a more precise sense than Darío used 'paraíso(s) artificial(es)'. Yet the difference in usage does not reside primarily in what the terms were chosen to refer to. An examination of the immediate contexts in which 'paraíso(s) artificial(es)' appeared reveals no evidence to suggest a fundamental incompatibility in the denotative significance accorded to this term and that with which Baudelaire invested his. Baudelaire applied the label 'paradis artificiel' to a state of intense well-being induced by the consumption of drugs or alcohol. Although Darío failed to delimit the range of stimulants by the use of which such a sense of gratification might be procured, and left a degree of ambiguity as to whether the term 'paraíso(s) artificial(es)' referred to the state itself or the means by which it was achieved, he remained within the same conceptual boundaries as those established by the Frenchman. This is confirmed by the qualification of 'peligrosos encantos', which suggests dubious sources of pleasure, be they pharmaceutical, carnal, emotional or intellectual in origin, and endows the notion

of an artificial paradise with the appropriate overtones of abuse. Furthermore, there is no reason to suspect that the difference in usage is to be explained by ambiguities inherent in Baudelaire's use of the term, for its semantic parameters are quite clearly established in his treatise.

The real sense in which 'paradis artificiel' and 'paraíso artificial' fail to coincide is in their connotative value. For Darío, as Cardwell clarifies by the term 'échappatoires', the artificial paradises evoked above all the idea of evasion, of escape from the unpalatable realities of spiritual torment and negative insight. This notion is also to be found in Baudelaire's use of the term. In 'Du vin et du hachish' (OC, 303-12) (the preliminary study undertaken by Baudelaire which was included in the second edition (1869) of Les Paradis artificiels, the edition which it is reasonable to assume Darío knew), Baudelaire identified that the consolatory properties of wine were known to '[q]uiconque a eu un remords à apaiser'. He also suggested, however, that its benefits, its 'profondes joies' were also sought by those having 'un souvenir à évoquer, un château en Espagne à bâtir' (OC, 304); by individuals, that is, by those who aspire to achieve goals which their sober faculties were incapable of attaining. Baudelaire understood, then, that man turned to wine not always to flee negative circumstances but, under the influence of a positive motivation, to transcend the emotional and intellectual restraints of the physical world. In fact he went as far as to suggest that in a world without wine, men would be unable to achieve their full spiritual potential, and that abstinence was symptomatic of poverty of spirit:

> Si le vin disparaissait de la production humaine, je crois qu'il se ferait dans la santé et dans l'intellect de la planète un vide, une absence, une défectuosité beaucoup plus affreuse que tous les excès et les déviations dont on rend le vin responsable. N'est-il pas raisonnable de penser que les gens qui ne boivent jamais de vin naïfs ou systématiques, sont des imbéciles . . . ? (OC, 306).

While acknowledging wine's power to console and its value as a means of evasion, then, Baudelaire stressed, in 'Du vin et du hachish', its function as a magical catalyst to the fulfilment of higher designs. This was the aspect which Baudelaire was to develop exclusively in 'Le Poème du Haschich' (OC, 567-84), the first book of Les Paradis artificiels. Here, Baudelaire attributed man's use and abuse of intoxicants to motives quite unrelated to the desire to escape from spiritual anguish or malaise. He saw in the quest for inebriation an attempt not to lose consciousness of one's condition, but to approximate or recreate a state of heightened and intensified consciousness which it was given to men to experience on rare occasions and in which they glimpsed realities more profound than those which could be discerned under normal psychological conditions. This abnormal configuration of psychic circumstances - '[c]ette béatitude, . . . cet état exceptionnel de l'esprit et des sens, . . . cet état charmant et singulier, . . .[c]ette acuité de la pensée, cet enthousiasme des sens et de l'esprit', to quote Baudelaire's definition, '[qui] ont dû, en tout temps, apparaître à l'homme comme le premier des biens, . . . où l'homme est invité à se voir en beau, c'est-à-dire tel qu'il devrait et pourrait être . . .[et]dont nous devrions tirer, si nous étions sages, la certitude d'une existence meilleure' (OC, 567-68) - served to awaken in men what Baudelaire referred to

as 'le goût de l'infini' (OC, 567). The singular beauty of this state of heightened awareness, the poignancy of which was augmented by the fact that it was 'malheureusement rare et passagère' (OC, 567), drove men to seek to recreate its virtues through artificial means:

> [C]'est pourquoi, ne considérant que la volupté immédiate, il a, sans s'inquieter de violer les lois de la constitution, cherché dans la science, physique, dans la pharmaceutique, dans les plus grossières liqueurs, dans les parfums les plus subtils, sous tous les climats et dans tous les temps, les moyens de fuir, ne fût-ce que pour quelques heures, son habitacle de fange, et, comme dit l'auteur de Lazare [Auguste Barbier] : 'd'emporter le Paradis d'un seul coup' (OC, 568).

It should be noted here that Baudelaire used flight from earth-bound existence, 'son habitacle de fauge', not in the mono-dimensional escapist sense which Darío implied in his use of 'paraíso(s) artificial(es), but as a move from an inferior state of being to a higher one. In the context of the study, life in the physical world is defined as '[les] lourdes ténèbres de l'existence journalière' (OC, 567), not because of its inherent negative qualities but with reference to the exceptional and beatific state of consciousness with which Baudelaire contrasted it on this occasion.

Darío, then, failed to develop in respect of the 'paraíso(s) artificial(es)' the idea of positive aspiration, as opposed to negative flight, which Baudelaire invoked to explain why man had recourse to intoxicants. This, at least, is what would appear to be the case, judging from the Nicaraguan's use of the term. The writers' points of view converged once more, however, in

respect of their attitude towards the quest for artificial paradises. In Darío's brief treatment of the theme, as in Baudelaire's more expanded and sophisticated exposé, a sense of disapproval is to be discerned. In defining the 'paraísos artificiales' as 'peligrosos', the Nicaraguan inferred what Baudelaire stated rather more explicitly, namely, that the use of stimulants not only entails dubious moral and physical consequences - '[l]es châtiments inévitables qui résultent de leur usage prolongé' - but also constitutes an affront to the positive forces at work within man. Darío's vitalistic faith in life, the nature of which will be examined shortly, provides grounds to suppose that he may have believed, as Baudelaire did, that to seek artificial paradises was to betray integrity of a kind that only the visionary can know.

6. 'Journaux intimes' and biography

In conclusion to this survey of allusions to Baudelaire in the critical writings of Rubén Darío, brief mention can be made of those instances on which the latter alluded to the Journaux intimes and to the few miscellaneous comments made regarding the few biographical details which the Nicaraguan chose to record. In the chapter devoted to Rachilde in Los raros, Darío compared the authoress to Baudelaire on the grounds of their shared predilection for sin and evil:

> Ella . . . ha bebido en el mismo vaso que Baudelaire, el Baudelaire . . . que escribió un día en sus Fusées: Moi, je dis: la volupté unique et suprême de l'amour gît dans la certitude de faire le mal. Et, l'homme et la femme savent, de naissance, que dans le mal se trouve toute volupté (OC, II, 373).

In Historia de Mis Libros Darío concluded that 'el mérito principal de mi obra . . . es el de una gran sinceridad, el de haber puesto "mi corazón al desnudo"' (OC, 223). Some seven years later, in La caravana pasa, Darío combined references to the Journaux intimes with biographical details regarding Baudelaire's knowledge and opinion of Belgium and the Belgians, while taking advantage of his juxtaposition of Hugo and Baudelaire to air his knowledge of the former's designation of the latter:

> Los franceses suelen mirar con cierto menosprecio a los belgas. Cuando digo los franceses, digo sobre todo los parisienses. Es una injusticia, y Víctor Hugo no pensaba de la misma manera. Baudelaire fué cruel en 'su corazón puesto al desnudo'. Hugo vivió aquí [Bélgica] desterrado; Baudelaire, tambien. Hugo, por la política; Baudelaire, por la vida. No sé si Baudelaire se arrepintió; pero los intelectuales belgas de hoy han olvidado la amargura del hombre del estremecimiento nuevo (16).

Another essentially biographical reference to Baudelaire in La caravana pasa (1903), made in the course of a commentary on a speech of welcome given by Hérédia in the Académie Francaise, recalled Baudelaire's unsuccessful candidature to this illustrious institution, and with it the collapse of his hopes of official recognition and respectability:

> Haciendo elogio de toda la ilustre parentela, halaga al recién venido y de paso a la Corporación que, como la otra que sabéis, pretende o aparenta fijar, limpiar y dar esplendor a la lengua de Flaubert y de Baudelaire, dos que no pertenecieron al senado 'inmortal' (OC, III, 772).

Darío was also acquainted with, and so reminded his readers, of Clarín's essay on Baudelaire, as is demonstrated in his remark that 'ése [Clarín] es el autor de páginas magistrales como sus antiguas Lecturas, o su ensayo sobre Baudelaire, o el de Daudet y tantos otros' (OC, III, 329).

7. A paradoxical response

The range of Baudelaire's work represented in Darío's criticism and chronicles bears ample witness to the 'lectures prodigieuses' to which E. K. Mapes referred in respect of the Nicaraguan's initiation to French literature. The number of sources on which Darío drew, indicate that he was acquainted with most, if not all of Baudelaire's work. His predisposition to select particular facets or to recall certain apposite phrases or terms suggest that in some respects at least reading Baudelaire had proven to be quite a memorable experience. Furthermore, the Nicaraguan's use of elliptical or metonymical forms and circumlocutions when referring to Baudelaire or things Baudelairian, and his coining of the adjective 'baudelairiano' imply that he took it for granted that his readers shared his knowledge and perception of the Frenchman's work.

When, however, one turns to examine the function and status of allusions to Baudelaire and Baudelairian terminology within Darío's critical writings, a marked contrast emerges between their quantitative presence and their qualitative significance. Darío used his extensive knowledge of the Frenchman's work as a source of nothing more than passing comparisons, portmanteau terms by which to avoid protracted explanations, and convenient critical shorthand, as is illustrated by three references to the poet not included among those surveyed above. In one of these, Darío relied purely on the connotations which Baudelaire's poetry had popularly acquired to convey his meaning, when he described Maurice Rollinat as a 'cultivador de "flores del mal"' who '[c]antaba en cabarets y salones versos baudelerianos [sic]

con música suya' (OC, I, 392). On another occasion Baudelaire's name figured in a comparison, the form of which (unqualified ennumeration of examples) is distressingly common in modern Spanish literary criticism. Darío wrote in 1911 of the diversity of Catulle Mendès's inspiration that '[h]a hecho cosas como Hugo, como Leconte de Lisle, como Banville, como Baudelaire, como Verlaine, como los parnasianos, como los simbolistas, como los decadentes' (OC, I, 487). In the following evocation of the poetry of Théodore Hannon in Los raros, Darío's allusion to Baudelaire is even more enigmatically subjective and at the same time presupposes in a reader the initiate's familiarity with a stock image of the poet:

> Todo, para este sensual, es color, sonido, perfume, línea, materia. Baudelaire hubiera sonreído al leer este terceto:
>
> Le sandringham, l'Ylang-Ylang, la violette
> de ma pâle Beauté font une cassolette
> vivante sur laquelle errent mes sens rodeurs
>
> (OC, II, 432).

Whatever such allusions have to reveal regarding the image of Baudelaire which the Nicaraguan held in his mind, they represent only the most elemental form of critical response to a writer and his work. Darío's failure to complement his extensive knowledge of Baudelaire's work with a well-formulated critical response, however, derives less from the relatively unsophisticated nature of such allusions when compared with other forms of active critical reaction, than from the fact that Darío's critical treatment of Baudelaire never extended beyond such trivia to a more complex,

sophisticated or purposeful level of debate. Passing allusions to authors and their works seems to have been a standard feature of the Nicaraguan's critical style. Nevertheless, it is significant that while many writers whose work featured in such a capacity on some occasions, on others qualified for critical examination in their own right, Baudelaire never succeeded in inspiring the Nicaraguan to devote one paragraph to his work.

Baudelaire's presence in Darío's criticism, chronicles and travelogues is, then, characterised by paradox. The Nicaraguan possessed all the information, understanding and perceptivity necessary to undertake a meaningful appreciation of at least some aspect of the Frenchman's work, but confined discussion of the poet to comments of a purely incidental significance. Indeed, discussion in the true sense of the word did not exist, and it is left to the reader to infer from implicit indications and clues what kind of image of the poet existed in Darío's mind. Why a critic who had acquired such a wide knowledge of Baudelaire's work should have failed to explore it more positively in the course of his critical activity can only be explained by the attitudes which Darío held in respect of the Frenchman and his work. One explanation as to why Baudelaire failed to qualify for critical examination in his own right is that a more recent generation of French poets, and Verlaine in particular, had replaced Baudelaire in the affections of the <u>modernistas</u>. If this were the case, however, how should one explain Darío's interest in contemporaries and predecessors of Baudelaire, such as Poe, Villiers de L'Isle-Adam and Leconte de Lisle, all of whom were the subject of chapters in <u>Los raros</u>? A far more likely explanation for the low priority which

Darío accorded to the treatment of Baudelaire in his critical works is his reaction to the poet as an individual writer. In order to determine the nature of this response, it is necessary to establish precisely what Baudelaire and his works represented in Darío's mind.

8. 'Satanism' revisited

In Peregrinaciones (1901), Darío placed Baudelaire in a tradition comprising artistic innovators whose work reflected a sense of spiritual unease:

> Sandro Botticelli: he ahí la heredad del exquisito y raro, y no se divaga, por cierto, el ánima de ese estremecimiento de angustia íntima que trae consigo el deletrear todas las aristocracias de ese pincel. Porque Botticelli no es de los que serenan; es quizá de aquellos cinco (que en Taine son cuatro: Dante, Shakespeare, Beethoven y Miguel Angel) que parecen de una raza aparte. Tiene un supremo privilegio, el que Víctor Hugo halló, siglos después, en Baudelaire; ha creado un estremecimiento nuevo, con una noción nueva de la expresión, que antes de él no está condensada en parte alguna, sino difundida en las regiones de maestros prerrafaelistas, expresión de belleza convencional o de fealdad resuelta para algunos; pero de real belleza y armonía innegables para muchos que llevan en el larario de sus emociones ese coin maladif de que hablaba Goncourt? (OC, III, 597-98).

Generally speaking, however, Darío's attention seems to have been drawn less by the fact that Baudelaire was a victim of malaise in itself than by the form in which this disquiet manifested itself. The cult of evil, vice and corruption was for the Nicaraguan the most memorable aspect of the Frenchman's work, as the allusions to Baudelaire examined above indicate, and that by which he was most prone to characterise the author of Les Fleurs du Mal. Further references to Baudelaire illustrate this

even more poignantly. In an essay on the painter Henri de Groux, Darío presented Baudelaire as a corrupting influence, and his poems as the kind of verse read by individuals of suspect morality:

> Un día he visto en su taller [de Henri de Groux] algunos de los 'retratos' que ha hecho: Dante, Wagner, Luis II de Baviera, León Bloy, Baudelaire, entendidos a su modo extraño, misterioso . . . Un libro había por allí: las Fleurs du mal . . . ¡Eso ha sacado de las malas compañías! (OC, I, 392).

In Los raros, Darío noted that the same sinister influence had been at work in the poetry of Jean Moréas when he declared that 'la sombra de Baudelaire sugiere a ese jóven ágil y pletórico Moréas . . . vagas ideas oscuras, relámpagos de satanismo' (OC, I, 392). Speaking of the work of Richard Le Gallienne in Páginas de arte, the Nicaraguan observed that 'a Baudelaire se deben las decoraciones incógnitas del Pecado, iluminadas por el "rayo nuevo" de su lírica visionaria' (OC, I, 643), while in the 'Retratos ingleses' of 1911, he declared of Arthur Symons that 'Baudelaire, por el lado del pecado, había simpatizado con él' (OC, I, 533). These comments recall others quoted above, and in particular those from Los raros, where Baudelaire appeared predominantly in association with those whom Darío identified as poets of perversity and blasphemy (Rachilde, Hannon, Richepin, Lautréamont, for example). The Nicaraguan, indeed, appears to have considered that an allusion to Baudelaire was the most efficient way to make his point on these occasions, the connotations of 'satanism' which had grown up around the poet being such that to merely mention his name would evoke more vividly and precisely than lengthy explanations of the immorality of the artist or work in question. Whether, in doing so, Darío was reflecting the perception which he genuinely held of

Baudelaire or whether he was simply exploiting popular prejudices and conceptions, the effect of his actions was to promote the 'satanic' side of the poet's work and temperament.

Darío was responsible, then, for prolonging diffusion of the idea that Baudelaire was the poet of sin and 'satanism'. He shared with previous critical commentators a tendency to give a somewhat disproportionate emphasis to these aspects of Baudelaire's work. What is perhaps more significant, however, is that Darío, like those who came before him, also found them somewhat unpalatable. While the Nicaraguan was obviously intrigued by the tormented sensibility of the 'raros', considering 'rareza' to be the quality which separated the spiritual élite of true artists from the common herd, he was somewhat reluctant to endorse the immoral excesses and the intense negative outrage and exasperation through which, in certain cases, the temperament of these artists expressed itself.

Thus it is that while he could speak of Laurent Thailhade in the following glowing terms:

> Rarísimo. Es, ni más ni menos, un poeta. Estas palabras que se han dicho respecto a él, no pueden ser más exactas: 'Es un supremo refinado que se entretiene con la vida como con un espectáculo eternamente imprevisto, sin más amor que el de la belleza, sin más odio que a lo vulgar y lo mediocre' (OC, II, 393).

and wax lyrical over 'la irremediable y divina enfermedad de la poesía' (OC, II, 388), he was driven to censure Isidore Ducasse for his Chants de Maldoror in terms that could have come from the pen of Juan Valera: 'No aconsejaré yo a la juventud que se abreve en esas aguas, por más que en ellas se refleje la maravilla de las constelaciones' (OC, II, 435-36). 'Ese vuelo de estrofas condenadas',

he went on to say regarding Jean Richepin's Les Blasphèmes, 'precisa el exorcismo, la disinfección mística, el agua bendita, las blancas hostias, un lirio del santuario, un balido del cordero pascual' (OC, II, 337). Similar statements follow in the same essay. In the following quotation a reference to 'Les Litanies de Satan' leaves no doubt that Darío saw Baudelaire as a representative of this tendency, and the judgement may therefore be considered to be equally applicable to him:

> En las blasfemias brota una demencia vertiginosa. El título no más del poema, tocó un bombo infamante. Lo han tocado antes, Baudelaire con sus Letanías de Satan y el autor de la Oda a Príapo. Esos títulos son comparables a los que decoran con cromos vistosos los editores de cuentos obscenos: '¡Atención, señores! ¡Voy a blasfemar!' '¿Se quiere mayor atractivo para el hombre, cuyo sentido más desarollado es el que Poe llamaba el sentido de perversidad?' (OC, II, 335-36).

Darío's use of the term 'demencia' to reinforce his sense of disapproval recalls the terminology of the psychological critics. Further examples of this kind are to be found in Los raros, and in particular in the essay on Rachilde. From the outset the essay adopts the characteristics of a study of pathology. The authoress is labelled 'un "caso" curiosísimo y turbador' (OC, II, 365). When her Monsieur Vénus is described as 'un libro de demonómana' (OC, II, 365) the term is Nordau's and Lombroso's, while she herself is described as 'ese crujiente cordaje de nervios agitados por una continua y contagiosa vibración' (OC, II, 367), and the characters who inhabit her writings as 'casos de teratología psíquica' (OC, II, 367). While it would not be correct to infer from the use of these terms that Darío shared the values held by the likes of Max Nordau, he certainly appears to have found such excesses

an unacceptably morbid manifestation of the sentido artista.

9. Regenerative vitalism

Why Darío should respond as he did to the more extreme manifestations of spiritual anguish is to be explained by his desire that art should cease to be a vehicle for the expression of despair, exasperation and hopelessness, and that it should seek instead to embody more positive, uplifting attitudes. As early as 1896, Darío expressed a certain impatience with art which was unable to communicate a vision of life where hope and serenity had a place, and praised works in which the febrile pursuit of escapist pleasures had yielded to more positive, vitalistic attitudes:

> Salir de la perpetua casa de cita, del perpetuo bar, de los perpetuos bastidores, del perpetuo salón où l'on flirte; dejar la compañía de lechuguinos canijos y vírgenes locas de su cuerpo, por la de un hombre fuerte, sano, honesto, franco y noble que os señala con un hermoso gesto un gran espectáculo, histórico, un vasto campo moral, un alba estética, es ciertamente consolador y vigorizante (OC, II, 443).

On a number of occasions in Los raros, the Nicaraguan advocated a therapeutic vitalism, some of the characteristic features of which he identified when discussing George d'Esparbès's La Légende de l'Aigle:

> Este libro . . . es una obra de bien. El es fruto de un espíritu sano, de un poeta sanguíneo y fuerte; y Francia, la adorada Francia, que ve brotar de su suelo - por causa de una decadencia tan lamentable como cierta, falta de fe y de entusiasmo, falta de ideales - que ve brotar tantas plantas enfermas, tanta adelfa, tanto cáñamo indiano, tanta adormidera, necesita de estos lauros, verdes, de estas erguidas palmas (OC, II, 387).

The same abstract principles - faith, ideals and enthusiasm (the last of which recalls Vigny's use of the term) - also figured in a discussion of the works of Léon Bloy:

> Si fuese cierto que las almas transmigran, diríase que uno de aquellos fervorosos, combatientes de las Cruzadas, o más bien, uno de los predicadores antiguos que arengaban a los reyes y a los pueblos corrompidos, se ha reencarnado en Léon Bloy, para venir a luchar por la ley de Dios y por el ideal, en esta época en que se ha cometido el asesinato del Entusiasmo y el envenenamiento del alma popular.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Este artista - porque Bloy es un grande [sic] artista - se lamenta de la pérdida del entusiasmo, de la frialdad de estos tiempos para con todo aquello que por el cultivo del ideal o los resplandores de la fe nos pueda salvar de la banalidad y seguedad contemporáneas. Nuestros padres eran mejores que nosotros, tenían entusiasmo por algo; buenos burgueses de 1830, valían mil veces más que nosotros. Foy, Béranger, La Libertad, Víctor Hugo, eran motivos de lucha, dioses de la religión del Entusiasmo. Se tenía fe, entusiasmo por alguna cosa. Hoy es el indiferentismo como una anquilosis moral; no se aspira con ardor en nada, no se aspira con alma y vida a ideal alguno. Eso poco más o menos piensa el nostálgico de los Tiempos pasados, que fueron mejores (OC, II, 318).

The reason for Darío's sympathy with the exponents of values of this kind becomes apparent when we examine his own beliefs on the subject. These were expounded quite explicitly in the 'Historia de mis "Abrojos"', an essay in which Darío reappraised his first published work. It emerges, in the passage quoted below, that Darío understood his early pessimism to be no more than a phase in his spiritual and aesthetic development, a temporary aberration of the moral consciousness which he attributed to the

adolescent's intense but imperfect appreciation of the human condition. The sense of hope and faith regained which came with maturity was hailed by Darío as the true absolute principal, that which should and did guide him in his thought as well as in his art:

> El libro adolece de defectos y aun entonces no estaba yo satisfecho de él como primer libro, como tarjeta de entrada a la vida literaria de Santiago, no era muy a propósito. Ante todo, hay en él un escepticismo y una negra desolación que, si es cierto que eran verdaderos, eran obra del momento. Dudar de Dios, de la virtud, del bien cuando aún se está en la aurora, no. Si lo que creemos puro lo encontramos manchado; si la mano que juzgamos amistosa nos hiere o nos enloda; si enamorados de la luz, de lo santo, de lo ideal, nos encontramos frente a la cloaca; si las miserias sociales nos producen el terror de la vergüenza; si el hermano calumnia al hermano; si el hijo insulta al padre; si la madre vende a su hija; si la garra triunfa sobre el ala; si las estrellas tiemblan arriba por el infierno de abajo . . . , ¡truenos de Dios!, ahí estáis para purificarlo todo, para despertar a los aletargados, para anunciar los rayos de la justicia.
> Pedro [Balmaceda, su editor] , en su delicadísimo artículo, en que el cariño guía la pluma, llama a los Abrojos, 'el libro de Job de la Adolescencia'. Hoy, por más que los desengaños han destruído muchas de mis ilusiones, adorador de Dios, hermano de los hombres, amante de las mujeres, pongo mi alma bajo mi esperanza.
> Maintenant, je voit [sic] l'aube . . .
> L'aube!, c'est l'espérance!
> Al son de la gloriosa música del arpa me quedo con David (OC, II, 158-59).

In this passage, Darío dismissed the 'negra desolación' of his Abrojos as a state of aberration born of spiritual immaturity or incompletion. Such sentiments reveal his attitude to pessimism to be consistent with those which he held in 1896. More significantly, however, they also reveal the origins of such an attitude. Here, the Nicaraguan discussed his early scepticism

in relation to the positive vital outlook which the Historia de mis Abrojos served as a pretext to advocate. A rejection of pessimism was a necessary condition of the cult of idealism through art which Darío sought to promote here, as becomes apparent when the dimensions which the Nicaraguan's idealism acquired are examined. It would not be inappropriate to describe this passage as a recantation and an affirmation of faith at the same time. The spiritual recovery which Darío professed to have undergone invites comparison with the experience of conversion, while his disavowal of pessimism and declaration of adherence to positive spiritual values has something of the fervour of the proselyte disowning his past transgressions and recounting how he saw the light. The religious connotations implicit in the spirit of the Historia become explicit in the language in which the sentiments expressed are couched. The choice of lexis ('Dios', 'la virtud', 'la luz!, 'lo santo', 'el infierno', 'purificar', etc.), and the use of Biblical imagery and phraseology ('el hermano calumnia al hermano', '¡truenos de Dios!', 'los rayos de la justicia', etc.) points unequivocally to the religious nature of Darío's idealism. Darío's statement in respect of his Abrojos is, consequently, readily assimilable to evidence elsewhere in his critical writings and chronicles of an equation between art and religion. It recalls his pronouncement, in the chapter devoted to Poe in Los raros, that faith was a quality 'que debiera poseer . . . todo poeta verdadero' (OC, II, 269). It puts into perspective his definition of art as 'el más bello de los sacerdocios' (OC, II, 362), and encourages a parallel to be drawn between the three guiding principles which he invoked -

'fe', 'esperanza' and 'entusiasmo' - and the trinity of Christian virtues: Faith, hope and charity. Darío, then, conferred upon the poetic artefact a sacramental function, and art became a vehicle for the religious idealism which he professed to uphold.

The authenticity of Darío's 'faith' is of little consequence as far as his response to Baudelaire's 'satanism' is concerned. Whether his standpoint derived from a genuine spiritual recovery from pessimism, a dualistic vision akin to that held by Baudelaire, in which the intuition of ideality provided the basis for a form of transcendental mysticism, or whether, as R. A. Cardwell has argued (17), the religion of art was merely a form of consolation and beguilement in the face of negative insight, the Nicaraguan's response to Baudelaire's côté diabolique could not have been other than critical. Having disowned his own pessimism in the cause of 'fe', 'esperanza' and 'entusiasmo', it was inevitable that Darío should single out Baudelaire and those who appeared to be his aesthetic confrères - Lautréamont, Rachilde, Hannon, Richepin - for exemplary censure.

10. A new tolerance.

The disapproval which Darío expressed in respect of Baudelaire's 'satanism' and, indeed, the disproportionate emphasis which he accorded to this aspect of the French poet's work were, then, the logical consequences of the idealism which he professed to uphold. In one sense, therefore, Darío's response to Baudelaire invites comparison with that of Valera, who also believed that malaise should not be a necessary condition of genio. The similarity is, however, purely notional, for fundamental differences are to be encountered in their respective attitude towards manifestations of

pessimism of this order. For Valera, exasperated excesses of the Baudelairian kind were quite simply unacceptable. Moreover, he showed little inclination to explore the anatomy of despair, for his principal concern was to counter the corrosive effect which he anticipated such sentiments might have on traditional beliefs. Darío, on the other hand, proved himself capable of a far more enlightened and, consequently, more lenient interpretation of the phenomenon. The occasions on which the Nicaraguan sought to account for the symptoms of extreme spiritual anguish in certain writers found him far more prepared to justify than to criticise. His analysis of the psychology of Isidore Ducasse in Los raros underwrote the authenticity of the tormented artist's spiritual plight, and therefore implied a rejection of Valera's expedient dismissal of such attitudes as the blague and pose of untalented frauds:

> Se trata de un loco, ciertamente. Pero recordad que el deus enloquecía a las pitonisas, y que la fiebre divina de los profetas producía cosas semejantes: y que el autor 'vivió' eso, y que no se trata de una 'obra literaria', sino del grito, del aullido de un ser sublime martirizado por Satanás (OC, II, 440).

Dario's interpretation, also in Los raros, of Jean Richepin's poetic blasphemies constituted both a sympathetic diagnosis and a vindication of the Frenchman's spiritual desolation. To wit, it furnishes not only an illustration of the Nicaraguan's tolerance and understanding but also provides clues as to their origin:

> Y he aquí que aunque la protesta de hablar palabras sinceras manifestada por Richepin, sea clara y franca, yo - sin permitirme formar coro junto con los que le llaman cabotín y farsante -, miro en su loco hervor de ideas negativas y de revueltas espumas metafísicas

> a un peregrino sediento, a un gran poeta errante en un calcinado desierto, lleno de desesperación y del deseo y que por no encontrar el oasis y la fuente de frescas aguas, maldice, jura y blasfema (OC, II, 336).

Here, the Nicaraguan once more defended an exponent of arid and exasperated despair against the Valerian charge of insincerity, yet questioned the accuracy of that writer's account of his own anguish. Darío's belief that Richepin's sentiments were authentic, but that he had perceived the nature of his mental turmoil inaccurately, invite consideration in the light of the Nicaraguan's own spiritual development. Darío's own experience of pessimism, which he claimed to have reflected in his Abrojos, would account for his persistent belief that the despair of writers such as Richepin was genuine. His claim to have recovered his faith subsequently would, in turn, explain both why he considered pessimism to represent spiritual imperfection or incompletion, and why he deemed Richepin to be misguided when he declared his blasphemy to be a genuine rejection of an idealistic interpretation of la condition humaine.

Darío never paused to analyse Baudelaire's spiritual anguish as he did in the case of Richepin and Lautréamont. Given the emphasis which the Nicaraguan placed upon the Frenchman's 'satanism' and his tendency to bracket him together with the likes of Richepin and Lautréamont, however, it is reasonably safe to assume that what he said of them could have been applied equally to Baudelaire. Certainly a reader of his critical writings might have inferred as much. Observations which Darío made in respect of the Frenchman's desire to shock endorse this view. On these occasions, the Nicaraguan's principal concern

appears to have been to establish that the Frenchman's 'blasphemy' was intended merely to 'épater les bourgeois', and in no way represented a fundamental rejection of idealistic principles. Thus in the chapter devoted to Théodore Hannon in Los raros, Darío took care to clarify that Baudelaire was a profoundly Catholic poet:

> A Louise Abbema dedica [Hannon] una linda copia rítmica de su cuadro Lilas Blancas ¡suave descanso! Pero es para, en seguida, abortar una estúpida y vulgar blasfemia. Hannon, ¿ha querido imitar ciertos versos de Baudelaire? Baudelaire era profunda y dolorosamente católico, y si escribió algunas de sus poesías pour épater les bourgeois, no osó nunca a Dios (OC, II, 433).

In the chapter discussing the work of Jean Richepin, the Nicaraguan was equally anxious to put down Baudelaire's impieties and peccancy to bourgeois-bating:

> [Richepin, c]omo Baudelaire, revienta petardos verbales, para espantar esas cosas que se llaman 'las gentes'. No de otro modo puede tomarse la ocurrencia que Bloy asegura haber oído de sus labios, superior, indudablemente, a la del jardinero de las Flores del Mal, que alababa el sabor de los sesos de niño (OC, II, 333).

11. Aesthetic kinship

The understanding shown by Darío in the face of symptoms of profound pessimism of the kind which he associated with Baudelaire serves as a reminder that the Nicaraguan's reaction to lo baudelairiano was not entirely negative. There are, indeed, aspects regarding which the two writers displayed a not insignificant parity of thought, and occasions when Darío expressed approval, sometimes quite enthusiastic, of Baudelairian ideas. A coincidence between the views of the two writers is particularly

evident in respect of the image of the artist which they promoted in their work. The Nicaraguan, like the Frenchman, was sympathetic to the notion of the artist as a spiritual aristocrat who pursued refined ideals and hated lo vulgar. 'Pero en todo', said Darío of Laurent Tailhade in Los raros, 'se reconoce la distinción, la aristocracia espiritual y la magnífica realeza de ese anarquista' (OC, I, 399). He also stressed that the artist was a visionary, and that his mind was therefore occupied with concerns higher than those which formed the intellectual pleasures of lesser mortals. 'Fue de les primeros iniciadores del simbolismo', he declared of Tailhade in the same essay. 'Vive en un sueño. Es raro, rarísimo, ¡un poeta! (OC, II, 401). Darío, like Baudelaire, saw the true poet as a superior being, endowed with a finely-tuned, refined sensibility, possessing a taste for the stimulatingly novel and exquisite, and capable of discovering the bizarre and the beautiful in the most mundane occurrences or phenomena. The poet, he believed, was a hypersensitive contemplative for whom life was a constant source of sensations and stimuli to be savoured for their singular resonance. His opening description of Laurent Tailhade could have been a definition of the dandy, as Baudelaire understood the term:

> Rarísimo. Es, ni más ni menos, un poeta. Estas palabras que se han dicho respecto a él, no pueden ser más exactas: 'Es un supremo refinado que se entretiene con la vida como un espectáculo eternamente imprevisto, sin más amor que el de la belleza, sin más odio que a lo vulgar y lo mediocre' (OC, II, 393).

As the last phrase of this quotation illustrates, Darío believed the artist's superiority to manifest itself, not only through access to rarefied planes of experience, but also through hate of vulgarity

and mediocrity, qualities personified in the common mass of humanity and, more precisely, in the bourgeois. The Nicaraguan's views in this respect were apparent in his description of the authoress Rachilde:

> Es profundamente artista. Oíd este grito: ¡Oh, son necesarios, ésos, los convencidos de nacimiento, para que se enmiende o reviente la Bestia Burguesa, cuya grasa rezumante concluye por untarnos todos! 'Obra de odio y obra de amor deben unirse delante del enemigo maldito: la humanidad indiferente' (OC, II, 372-73).

It is logical that scorn of the masses should also imply a rejection of ideology for the masses. Art, as Baudelaire came to believe after his brief flirtation with socialism during the 1848 revolution (18), should be apolitical and therefore - implicitly or explicitly - antipolitical. That Darío, too, held this attitude is clear from a reflection on Jean Moréas, in which the rejection of politics in favour of pure art is equated with the characteristic of the true artist:

> 'reconciliada ya con las rimas', como dice Mendès; ignorando que existen Monsieur Carnot, el sistema parlamentario y el socialismo. No ha parido hembra humana un poeta más poeta. (OC, II, 364).

Darío was also only too well aware - as Baudelaire showed himself to be in 'Bénédiction' and 'L'Albatros' - that the artist who articulates his visions may become a victim of the scornful masses, a martyr not only to the fatal quest for beauty, but also to the hate of those to whom his art is incomprehensible and his aims unintelligible. 'Decir la verdad es siempre peligroso', he declared in Los raros, 'y gritarle de modo tremendo . . . es condenarse al sacrificio voluntario' (OC, II, 319).

The same view was also expressed in the following reference to Léon Bloy:

> ¡pero mucho es que sus propósitos de demoledor, de perseguidor, no le hayan conducido a un verdadero martirio, bajo el poder de los Dioclecianos de la canalla contemporánea! . . . Está condenado por el papado de lo mediocre; está puesto en el índice de la hipocresía social
> (OC, II, 319-22).

The comparison of every citizen to a Diocletian (19) is most apt. As the Roman emperor of the same name was renowned for his cruel persecution of early Christians, the metaphor serves to integrate the idea of artistic martydom into the parallel which Darío elaborated between art and religion, alongside other aspects such as the artist as warrior priest, and the parity between the function of artistic creation and worship. This seems to indicate that the notion of martydom was fundamental to Darío's view of art and the artist, and not merely a gratuitous metaphor for the scorn of the philistines of his day.

On the evidence of these pronouncements and assessments, it is reasonable to assume that Baudelaire's conception of the artist and of the nature and function of art would have met with Darío's approval. Nevertheless, it is significant that this fact is not expressed explicitly in references to Baudelaire, but remains to be deduced from the Nicaraguan's response to other writers whose aesthetic principles happened to tally with those advocated by the Frenchman. This is also true of Darío's attitude to the 'satanic' aspects of Baudelaire's work, much evidence of which occurs in contexts where either no mention of the author of Les Fleurs du Mal is made, or where

he figures purely in an incidental capacity. Consequently, when one comes to formulate a generalisation regarding Darío's response to Baudelaire, it is important to acknowledge that a disparity exists between the somewhat narrow, stylised, conventional image presented in the Nicaraguan's explicit references to the poet, and the far more diverse picture which emerges if indirect evidence of his response, such as has been examined above, is also taken into account. The conclusion to be drawn from this discrepancy is that the image of Baudelaire presented overtly in Darío's critical writings does not furnish, and, more significantly, did not furnish contemporary readers, with a complete and totally accurate account of the Nicaraguan's attitude and reaction to the French poet, or of his understanding of Baudelaire's work.

12. Conclusion

Rubén Darío's critical response to Baudelaire is characterised by a degree of paradox. His knowledge of the Frenchman's work was extensive, and he was obviously capable of making a sensitive appreciation of what he read, yet the allusions to Baudelaire in the Nicaraguan's critical writings are for the most part critically unsophisticated and clichéd. Darío was aware of the scope of Baudelaire's contribution to contemporary developments in literature, but showed no inclination to dedicate more than a handful of throw-away observations to the poet who was one of the most significant precursors of modernismo. The Nicaraguan partook of the psycho-aesthetic tradition which Baudelaire was largely responsible for founding, yet left scant testimony in his references to the Frenchman of a sense of spiritual

and aesthetic affinity; indeed, from the little Darío wrote concerning Baudelaire it might easily be deduced that they had little or nothing of significance in common. Darío adopted an attitude of sensitive tolerance towards the spiritual plight which underlay the lyrical immorality and literary libertinage associated with Baudelaire, yet evoked the French poet's 'satanism' and obsession with vice with all the dramatised exaggeration of Valera. To consider the Nicaraguan's explicit references to Baudelaire alone could easily create the impression that his understanding of the Frenchman's work was far less sophisticated than it was in reality.

When one considers Rubén Darío's critical response to Baudelaire in its entirety, taking into account what can be deduced from his response to other writers who resembled Baudelaire, as well as explicit references to the Frenchman, one is left with the impression that Darío was knowledgeable, sensitive and indulgent, but somehow indifferent; that he was sympathetic, but with marked reservations. The psycho-aesthetic distance which separated the Nicaraguan from Baudelaire within the broad tradition to which they both belonged was sufficient to prevent the Frenchman from acquiring in Darío's mind the status reserved for those who announce new verities to the uninitiated. In this sense, the Nicaraguan's individual critical reaction to Baudelaire reflects and synthesises the whole range of responses to the Frenchman within _modernismo_ as a whole.

V CONCLUSION

Modernista and _noventayochista_ critical response to Baudelaire stands apart from that of the traditionalist and psychological

critics by virtue of, among other factors, the diversity of opinion contained therein. From the near-eulogy of Azorín to the scathing deprecation of Unamuno, the reaction of the writers of Spain's vanguardia de fin de siglo encompassed a range of viewpoints that far surpassed that found in any other body of critical opinion. There is another factor, however, that provides a more comprehensive basis on which to differentiate the response of the modernistas and noventayochistas from the likes of Valera and Nordau; a factor which, in addition to permitting such a distinction to be made, explains the diversity, indeed the polarisation, of modernista-noventayochista critical attitudes to Baudelaire. The factor to which we refer is the broad genealogical relation which existed between the sensibility and worldview of Baudelaire and those of the Spanish writers whose critical response has been examined in the course of this chapter. It is this factor alone which determined the nature of modernista-noventayochista critical reaction to the French poet.

In the first place, it accounts for the mixture and approval and disapproval, of acceptance and reservations, of which this body of response was composed. Baudelaire earned the appreciation of the Spanish writers inasmuch as he had articulated preoccupations which they also felt and presented a concept of art and the artist which they recognised as being broadly compatible with their own views. By the same token, respect for the French poet became subject to qualification or even turned to criticism where his relevance as founder of the psycho-aesthetic tradition of which the modernistas and noventayochistas partook, was outweighed by disparities between his

particular configuration of sensibility and response and theirs. Notwithstanding this dichotomy, modernista-noventayochista reaction to Baudelaire bore witness to a significant change in sympathy. Other schools of opinion were far more antagonistic in their criticisms of the poet, while the closest they came to noting his merits was grudging acknowledgement of the influence which he had exerted on subsequent generations of writers. Clarín is perhaps the only exception to this rule, and then only by virtue of the fact that he was prevented from indulging his own sense of disapproval only by his critical conscience. Secondly, the ability of the modernistas and noventayochistas to relate to Baudelaire's work determined the range of issues which they raised and the aspects which became the focus of their attention. On the one hand, it is logical that the exponents of the new aesthetic in Spain should have considered as significant aspects of Baudelaire's work which had not previously been the subject of discussion or were not among critics of different intellectual, ideological and aesthetic persuasions. The increase in the range of critical themes would, of course, have been helped by the diffusion which Baudelaire's work had acquired by this time, particularly in progressive literary circles. Les Fleurs du Mal and the prose poems were by then contemporary classics and essential reading for any self-respecting young writer. On the other hand, the modernistas and noventayochistas still did not abandon the traditional issues such as 'satanism', malaise, mysticism and artificiality, thereby reinforcing the existing patterns of response. Indeed, some of these themes still tended to be the focus of unfavourable reaction to a not insignificant

degree. The reasons why these elements were chosen for discussion or censure were, however, different. Their significance was re-interpreted from a new perspective and according to new values. Thus old and new critical themes were united by the new criterion for the selection of significant issues.

Finally, the general proximity of worldview which connected the modernistas and noventayochistas with Baudelaire rendered the former acutely sensitive to the particular ways in which the Frenchman's aesthetic and spiritual path diverged from their own. Discrepancies were inevitable, given the cultural, linguistic and chronological distance separating Baudelaire from his Spanish descedents and the ways in which the psycho-aesthetic tradition of which they both partook had evolved in the course of the intervening years. Factors such as these explain the contrast between the fin-de-siècle Spaniard's relatively high degree of familiarity with Baudelaire's work and the relative critical indifference which they displayed towards it. As an example to emulate, the Frenchman's aesthetics may well have represented a far more preferable alternative to the indelicate bombast of Núñez de Arce or the sterile, overworked formulae of the Spanish decadencia, but they failed to capture the imagination of the modernistas and noventayochistas in the way that the work of Verlaine or even some of the minor Symbolists did.

NOTES

1. Ricardo Gullón records in Conversaciones con Juan Ramón Jiménez (Madrid: Taurus, 1958) Jiménez's declaration that 'me eduqué con Verlaine, que fue, junto con Bécquer, el poeta que más influyó sobre mí, en el primer momento. Luego vino Baudelaire, pero éste es de comprensión más difícil, más tardía' (p. 100).

2. Literatura española siglo XX, segunda edición (Madrid: Alianza, 1972), p. 24.

3. 'Bibliografía', La Ilustración Ibérica, 20/2/1886, pp. 118-22 (p. 122).

4. Apolo en Pafos (Madrid: Fernando Fe, 1887), p. 85.

5. 'Decadencia crítica', Germinal, 23/7/1897, pp. 2-3 (p. 2).

6. 'Núñez de Arce', La Lectura, July, 1903, pp. 315-29 (p. 321).

7. Cited in Rafael Ferreres, Verlaine y los modernistas españoles (Madrid: Gredos, 1975), p. 179.

8. 'Poetas modernistas y no modernistas', La España Moderna, March 1902, pp. 168-71 (pp. 170-171).

9. See OC, 568: '[J]e préfère considérer cette condition anormale comme une véritable grâce'

10. The significance and implications of the transcendental experience of which Baudelaire considered man to be naturally capable are expounded in 'Le Goût de l'infini', the first chapter of La Poème du Haschisch (OC, 567-69).

11. 'Verlaine' in French Literature and its Background, edited by John Cruickshank, 6 vols (OUP, 1969), V (The Late Nineteenth Century), pp. 84-100 (p. 94).

12. The Decadent idea of Beauty has been explored at length and in detail by A. E. Carter, in The Idea of Decadence in French Literature (1830-1900) (University of Toronto Press, 1958); Mario Praz, in his seminal work The Romantic Agony, translated by Angus Davidson, second edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); and by Jacques Lethève in an article entitled 'Le Thème de la décadence dans les lettres françaises à la fin du xix ème siècle', Revue de l'histoire de la littérature française, 63 (1963), pp. 46-61.

13. 'Los breviarios de la decadencia parisiense', El modernismo visto por los modernistas, introducción y selección de Ricardo Gullón (Barcelona: Labor, 1980), pp. 472-80 (p. 472).

14. Ibid., pp. 478-79.

15. Baudelaire's use of the phrase 'Anywhere out of the world' is not original in an absolute sense, but only inasmuch as the Frenchman's prose poem was the source from which Darío borrowed the term. Baudelaire had in turn acquired it from Thomas Hood's The Bridge of Sighs (See Baudelaire, OC, 182n).

16. OC, III, 715-16. The reference to an 'estremecimiento nuevo' is a translation of an allusion by Hugo to Baudelaire's articulation of a new poetic sensibility. The remark was made in a letter to Baudelaire dated the 6 October, 1859: 'Que faîtes-vous quand vous écrivez ces vers saisissants: les sept vieillards et les Petites Vieilles que vous me dédiez et dont je vous remercie? Que faîtes-vous? Vous allez en avant. Vous dotez le ciel de l'art d'on ne sait quel rayon macabre. Vous créez un frisson nouveau' (Baudelaire, OC, 35-36).

17. See 'Darío and El arte puro: The Enigma of Life and the Beguilement of Art', BHS, 47 (1970), pp. 37-51 (p. 42).

18. See Enid Starkie, Baudelaire (Penguin, 1971) pp. 220-221.

19. Diocletian (245-313 AD), a Roman emperor renowned for his persecution of the Christians. Here, Darío advanced the view of the artist persecuted to the point of martyrdom by the vulgate.

PART THREE

THE INFLUENCE OF BAUDELAIRE IN SPANISH MODERNISMO

CHAPTER ONE

I. MANUEL REINA AND THE 'MAL DEL SIGLO'

1. Influence unacknowledged

The history of Baudelaire's influence in Spanish modernismo begins with the work of Manuel Reina y Montilla (1856-1905), a poet who has come to be considered as one of the movement's most significant precursors. Like Rubén Darío, Reina not only contributed to the diffusion of Baudelaire's work in Spain, but also underwent the Frenchman's influence. Indeed, he is one of the few Spanish poets in whose work it is possible to encounter unequivocal proof of a debt to the author of Les Fleurs du Mal.

The influences at work in Reina's poetry, however, have to date remained the exclusive concern of literary historians whose refusal to entertain influence where similarities do not occur in abundance makes 'presence' a more accurate term to describe what they are talking about. These critics have tended to pay scant regard to isolated rapports de fait even when these clearly indicate true influences. Max Henriquez Ureña comes perilously close to paradox when, in his Breve historia del modernismo (Mexico 1954), he states that Reina 'parafraseó el Don Juan en los infiernos de Baudelaire, pero en vano buscaríamos en él la huella de Baudelaire o de Poe' (p. 34). The critic displays, in his dismissive reaction to Reina's version of 'Don Juan aux enfers' (OC, 52), a deplorable disregard for patent evidence of a literary debt. Another critic, Francisco Aguilar Piñal, not only treats a single but explicit reference to Baudelaire as inconsequential, but also appears to ignore the existence of Reina's 'Don Juan en los infiernos'. In La obra poética de Manuel Reina (Madrid 1968),

Aguilar Piñal observes that none of the Parnassian poets were mentioned by name in the Spaniard's poetry, and that Baudelaire was only mentioned in passing (1). He goes on to clarify that '[s]u devoción . . . se centra en la figura de Théophile Gautier' (p. 34). The critic formulates this conclusion on the basis of the presence of a number of 'contactos formales' and of evidence that Reina had direct knowledge of the French poet's work. The sonnet 'La musa de Théophile Gautier' is quoted by way of illustration. This contention does not seem unreasonable. Once again, however, the quantity in which possible manifestations of influence occur takes precedence, questionably, over isolated but indisputable proof of influence in the hierarchy of conditions necessary to justify speaking of a literary debt. Is there not also a certain contradiction in the fact that Aguilar Piñal considers the allusion to Baudelaire to be insignificant, yet has recourse to precisely the same criterion - mention of a writer's name - to deny the influence of the Parnassians?

The aim of the present chapter will be to rectify the unjustifiable lack of attention to Baudelaire's influence upon Manuel Reina. Enquiry will focus upon explicit examples of Reina's debt to the Frenchman, but will also consider further evidence pertinent to the issue.

2. Knowledge and Diffusion of Baudelaire

The precise extent of Manuel Reina's familiarity with the works of Baudelaire is not known, although a few general conclusions can be drawn from evidence in his poetry and elsewhere. The Spaniard's version of 'Don Juan aux enfers' suggests that he had read

Les Fleurs du Mal. Translations which appeared in La Diana, the literary review which Reina founded and of which he was the editor between 1882 and 1884, suggest that at the very least he had heard of La Fanfarlo and the Petits poëmes en prose. No study of the diffusion of Baudelaire's work in Spain can afford to ignore the contribution of this progressive publication, or of Reina's association with it. Aguilar Piñal refers in some detail to the importance of La Diana as an organ for the dissemination of European literature in the Peninsula:

> Tampoco podemos silenciar, aunque no se trate de poemas originales, las numerosísimas traducciones de autores extranjeros que aquí ven la luz, contribuyendo así de un modo muy eficaz al conocimiento que por aquellos días se estaba teniendo en España de la literatura europea.
>
> Traductores como Teodoro Llorente, Aniceto Valdivia, Jaime Clark, Ismaël Calderón Rivas, Eduardo Bustillo, Nicolás Pinzón, Antonio Ledesma y el mismo Reina (bajo el seudónimo de 'Anier') cumplen el propósito de la revista de 'dar a conocer a los lectores las novedades literarias extranjeras' (op. cit., p. 26).

Aguilar Piñal includes the name of Baudelaire among the principal writers translations of whose works were published in La Diana. He adds that La Fanfarlo and 'Una miseria' appeared in Spanish translation in volume 1, number 6 and volume 2, number 7 respectively. This information is, however, inaccurate. Consultation of the volumes of La Diana which are kept in the Hemeroteca municipal in Madrid reveals that La Fanfarlo was actually published in instalments in numbers 6, 7 and 8 of the review. 'Una miseria', on the other hand, corresponds to nothing that Baudelaire wrote. Aguilar Piñal also fails to mention the prose poems translated in numbers 14 and 16 later in the same year (2).

In addition to rectifying the factual errors committed by

Aguilar Piñal, it is also necessary to set the record atraight in respect of the authorship of the translation of La Fanfarlo. It has been stated that Reina himself was responsible for this undertaking (3). The Spanish version was, however, signed by Aniceto Valdivia.

3. Affinity of sensibility

La Diana bears witness to the resurgence of interest among a group of progressive Spanish men of letters in avant-garde aesthetic trends which had developed outside Spain. Reina participated actively in this revival of literary curiosity, and the discoveries made by the Spaniard and his associates could not have failed to leave their mark upon his mind. As Aguilar Piñal notes in La obra poética de Manuel Reina,

> [e]ste amplio panorama de literatura extranjera [expuesto en La Diana] marca un índice de preocupaciones en la renovación literaria, interesantísimo para el desarrollo de la poesía de Reina, que muy al tanto de todo como director de la revista, y aun traductor, va a sufrir la influencia de casi todos ellos (p. 27).

Reina's concern with artistic renovation was, however, far more than a purely aesthetic preoccupation. It reflected the need for his art to adapt itself to the expression of a new sensibility. More precisely, it was a consequence of the development of Reina's vital outlook away from a position of relative metaphysical confidence towards disillusion, pessimism and spiritual disquiet, a process which has been analysed by R. A. Cardwell in an enlightening reassessment of Reina's place in the evolution of Spanish literary sensibility in the nineteenth (4).
century

By 1894, in La vida inquieta, the colorista verve of Reina's first two volumes of verse, Andantes y allegros (1877) and Cromos y acuarelas (1878) had given way to a spirit of despondency and gloomy scepticism reminiscent of Romantic angustia. It was in this collection, the tone of which was prefigured in 1885 in a brief but aptly named pamphlet of poems entitled La lira triste, that the concept of the poète maudit appeared in Spanish poetry for the first time.

Reina's interest in Baudelaire stemmed from the change in his vital outlook. In his state of anguished disillusion and embitterment, the Spaniard was able to respond sympathetically to the exasperated obsessions of the tormented visionary who documented the seasons of his soul in Les Fleurs du Mal. A sense of spiritual kinship, of affinity of sensibility developed in Reina's mind as he sought and found in the Frenchman's work a correspondence of his own malaise and negative insight. Consequently, Baudelaire came to represent above all for Reina the spiritual torment, anguished despair and brooding melancholy which are characteristic of post-Romantic mal du siècle. It is this image of the French poet which is reflected in the influences apparent in Reina's verses.

The question which must be posed with respect to Reina's debt to Baudelaire is not whether an influence took place, but how far the Spaniard was capable of assimilating or, possibly, willing to assimilate the example provided by Baudelaire. This issue must of course be considered wherever the recipient of the influences is separated from the emitter, not only by his own individuality, but also by language, culture, literary tradition and literary historical circumstances. In such circumstances,

disparities between the source and its reflection in the influenced text may occur, not only on the level of the similarity (which in the case of Reina is ostensibly thematic), but in all areas.

II. LA VIDA INQUIETA

1. Le poète maudit

The first trace of Baudelaire's impact on the poet of La vida inquieta is in the second poem of the collection. In 'A un poeta' (p. 7), Reina articulated his sense of identification with the poètes maudits. It opens with an exhortation, addressed to a fellow poet - the 'vate feliz' of the sixth stanza - to sing the beauty and pleasures of life in his art. In the seventh stanza, however, it becomes evident that Reina was not urging his comrade to follow a code to which he himself adhered, but rather, wished to pass on to him a responsibility which he no longer felt able to fulfil:

> Que ¿por qué los deleites y venturas
> no canto yo, como en la edad pasada?
> Porque el negro pesar con mano fiera
> hundió en mi pecho su punzante daga.

In the three stanzas which follow, the anatomy of the poet's malaise is revealed. The illusions of carefree youth have been replaced by anguish and bitter despair. The feverish, nightmarish spiritual torment which ceaselessly rack the poet's consciousness is evoked successively in the verses which follow:

> Ya no cojo encendidas amapolas
> de la ilusión en la pradera mágica,

seca la fuente está de mi alegría
y mudo el ruiseñor de mi esperanza.

Del coro de las musas juveniles
no escucho ya las melodiosas flautas;
y las aves, las olas y los vientos
gritan desesperados en mi alma.

Y en la alta noche, en las febriles
horas en que el insomnio mi cabeza abrasa,
rumor de alas crujientes y gemidos
resuenan pavorosos en mi estancia.

The sinister creaks and moanings of the last two lines of the final verse herald a sombre visitation. The spirits of artists who are the victims of anguish and spiritual unrest, 'los genios lúgubres, los vates / en cuyos cantos el dolor estalla', arrive to populate the poet's febrile and hallucinatory visions. These phantoms are as angels of annunciation, but the message which they bear, burdens rather than uplifts the soul:

Todos a mí se acercan, y a mi oído
algo terrible y lastimero cantan;
algo que impone al ánimo valiente
y ayes de angustia al corazón arranca.

¿Qué canto misteriosos y fatídicos
murmuran en la noche esos fantasmas? . . .
Lo ignoro; sólo sé que está más triste
y amarilla mi faz por la mañana.

It is evident from these verses that Reina had succumbed to the

contagion of scepticism, the mal du siècle, which first appeared in Spain with romanticismo. In communicating to the Spaniard the fatal 'algo', Baudelaire's 'secret douloureux', the poètes maudits initiate him irrevocably into their tragic brotherhood. Henceforth, his art will be infused with a sense of grief and suffering.

Last but not least in the assembly of poets evoked by Reina in a sombre equivalent of 'Les Phares' is 'el siniestro/Baudelaire con su tétrica mirada'. Through this allusion to Baudelaire the author of la vida inquieta revealed the aspect of the Frenchman's work which had made the greatest impact upon him. By so doing, however, he created in his poem an image of Baudelaire as the poet of spiritual disquiet. The presence of the French poet in 'A un poeta', can therefore be defined as a manifestation of influence and as an act of diffusion.

Echoes of other characteristics of Baudelairian malaise are to be found in La vida inquieta, although for the most part the conditions necessary to constitute proof of influence are absent. In 'Byron en la bacanal' a reference to the poet's spiritual affliction as 'la oculta pena que su pecho hería' recalls 'L'obscur Ennemi qui nous ronge le coeur' ('L'Ennemi', OC, 49) and 'Le secret douloureux qui me faisait languir' ('La vie antérieure', OC, 51). The same poem recalls one aspect of Baudelairian thought regarding the relationship between the artist and other mortals. The poem describes a spectacular orgy taking place aboard a large gondola moored in the waters of a canal of a fantastic city, probably Venice. The young Lord Byron, reclining in the prow of the vessel, is called upon to compose. Calling for wine, he recites verses exhorting loss of

self, and therefore loss of pain and sorrow, in sensual delights. Then, having downed a draught of wine, he collapses in a drunken stupor in the bottom of the boat:

> desplomóse embriagado sobre el suelo.
> ¡Rodando su corazón de poeta,
> su corona de estrellas inmortales
> a los pies de infamadas meretrices!

The theme of the artist who loses his sublimity, in an act of almost intentional, inevitable self-abasement, also occurs in certain of Baudelaire's creations. It would be imprudent to suggest that an influence had occurred on this occasion. 'Byron en la bacanal' has equally plausible antecedents in poems such as Espronceda's 'A Jarifa en una orgía', or might simply have had no other source than Reina's knowledge of Byron's legendary existence. Yet parallels do exist with 'L'Albatros' (OC, 45), in which the poet, in his symbolic guise of a seabird, becomes ridiculous and is ridiculed once he descends from the realm of superior consciousness to enter the domain of the masses. In Reina's poem, Byron, by accepting a challenge to compose, initiates a process which culminates in his degradation in the same way as the albatros which lands on the ship's deck is tormented and mocked by sailors. Byron, exalted by inebriation and exasperated by anguish, recalls another Baudelairian symbol for the poet, the swan of 'Le Cygne' (OC, 97) 'avec ses gestes fous, / . . . ridicule et sublime'. He engineers his own 'perte d'auréole', for the means of escape from anguish which he advocates in his exhilarated lyrical monologue - wine - is

precisely that which causes him to tumble ignominiously at the feet of the 'infamadas meretrices' who accompany him. This phrase, incidentally, recalls the 'exécrable femme' who strident-ly mocks the poet-dandy in Baudelaire's prose poem 'Le Galant tireur' (OC, 178).

2. Dandysme

Faced with the torments of existence and corrosive spiritual anguish, the Baudelairian poet adopts an attitude of impassivity. Echoes of this aspect of the Frenchman's thought are to be found in the compositions of La vida inquieta, particularly in the short allegorical poem entitled 'La estatua' (p. 83):

> En medio del jardín yérguese altiva
> en riquísimo marmol cincelada
> la figura de un dios de ojos serenos,
> cabeza varonil y formas clásicas.
>
> En el invierno la punzante nieve
> y el viento azotan la soberbia estatua;
> pero ésta, en su actitud noble y severa,
> sigue en el pedestal, augusta, impávida.
>
> En primavera el áureo sol le ofrece
> un manto brocado; las arpadas
> aves con sus endechas la saludan;
> los árboles le tejen con sus ramas
>
> verde dosel; el cristalino estanque
> la refleja en sus ondas azuladas,

y los astros colocan en su frente
una diadema de bruñida plata.

Mas la estatua impasible está en su puesto
sin cambiar la actitud ni la mirada.

¡Así el genio inmortal, dios de la tierra,
siempre blanco de envidias o alabanzas,
impávido, sereno y arrogante,
sobre las muchedumbres se levanta!

The poem expresses in unequivocal fashion the belief that the poet, of whom the statue is a symbol, is a spiritually superior being. This notion is conveyed directly through the qualifications 'altiva', 'noble', arrogante', 'soberbia'; through nouns such as 'dios'; through description of the noble contours and imposing physical presence of the well-wrought sculpture which suggest comparable spiritual and intellectual attributes; but above all through the idea of impassivity. This quality is communicated directly, by the use of adjectives such as 'serenos', 'severa', 'impávida' and 'impasible', and indirectly by description of the attitude with which the statue faces the world. This, is presented not merely as a petrified stiff upper lip and square jaw in the face of adversity, for the statue remains as unmoved by the blessings of summer, which represents the people's 'alabanzas', as it does by the harshness of winter, symbolising the 'envidias' of the masses. The behavioural attitude evoked here finds correspondence in Baudelaire's concept of the dandy, in respect of which the poet wrote '[l]e caractère de beauté du dandy consiste surtout dans l'air froid que vient de l'inébran-

lable résolution de ne pas être ému (OC, 561), identifying as characteristic 'cette attitude hautaine de caste provocante, même dans sa froideur' (OC, 560). The refusal of the Spaniard's 'genio inmortal' to be moved by the 'envidias' and 'alabanzas' of the fickle masses represents a determined attempt on the part of the artist not to display emotional responses inconsistent with the refined sensibility of a superior being. This coincides with the behavioural attitudes which Baudelaire ascribed to the poet-dandy. The purpose of such attitudes is to express the harmony, equilibrium and spirituality of le beau in comportmental terms, by seeking to eradicate from behaviour all vestiges of qualities incompatible with the character of this ideal principle. Impassivity serves as a foil to spontaneous passion which, according to Baudelaire, is inconsistent with the sublime emotions experienced by the poet:

> Car la passion est naturelle, trop naturelle pour ne pas introduire un ton blessant, discordant, dans le domaine de la beauté pure, trop familière et trop violente pour ne pas scandaliser les purs désirs, les gracieuses mélancolies et les nobles désespoirs qui habitent les régions surnaturelles de la poésie (OC, 352).

Baudelaire speaks in respect of the dandy of attitudes which are not only 'toujours calmes' but also, simultaneously, 'révelant la force' (OC, 561). Reina's symbolic statue exemplifies the latter quality in its 'cabeza varonil y formas clásicas'. Indeed, the physical beauty of the sculptured figure becomes a signifier of spiritual superiority in a way that recalls another symbolic incarnation of le beau baudelairien, the double-faced sculpture of 'Le Masque (OC, 53-54).

Another respect in which the image of the artist presented in 'La estatua' coincides with that elaborated by Baudelaire concerns the status of the poet in relation to the mass of humanity. The notion that the poet is somehow greater than ordinary men, that he is a spiritually more elevated being, has its origins in the dawn of human civilisation. In recent Western cultural history, however, it acquired a more particular prominence with the onset of Romanticism. 'Peuples!', exhorted Victor Hugo in 'Fonction du poète', 'écoutez le poète! / Ecoutez le rêveur sacré'. Reina's 'genio inmortal' reiterates to some degree this Romantic cliché, but with a significant difference. Hugo depicted the poet as a benevolent demiurge, entrusted by the Creator to act as Mediator between Himself and mankind. For Reina, however, the poet's superiority is not a qualification for the role of celestial ambassador. On the contrary, it sets him apart from lesser mortals, in a relationship of mutual scorn and antagonism. In this sense, the Spaniard's view of the poet tallies with that held by Baudelaire. In another sense, however, it harks back to the Hugolian model, thereby revealing a dimension in which Reina's aesthetic beliefs and practice at the time of composing La vida inquieta were still not totally aligned with those of Baudelaire in spite of the affinity of sensibility. The ingredients which go to make up the image of the artist presented in 'La estatua' recall the poet as defined by Baudelaire, but the style in which they are couched is still very reminiscent of Romanticism. The poet is transformed into a lofty epic abstraction: 'el genio inmortal'. The grandiloquent, the tone of self-conscious solemnity, the resonant adjectives and the direct, declamatory style of Reina's poem all conform to the

indelicate conventions of Romantic rhetoric. As a result, 'La estatua' fails to express the psychological-existential character of the poet's attitudes which is conveyed in poems such as 'Don Juan aux enfers' (OC, 52) or 'Le Masque' (OC, 53-54).

3. Don Juan en los infiernos

The image of the artist, particularly his impassivity, is a theme which, together with the question of Reina's concept of poetic language, arises once more in respect of what in terms of Baudelairian influence is undoubtedly the most significant poem of La vida inquieta, if not of the Spaniard's verse in its entirety. 'Don Juan en los infiernos' (p. 139) is a gloss of Baudelaire's 'Don Juan aux enfers' (OC, 52). The subtitle 'Pensamiento de Baudelaire' suggests that Reina was inspired primarily by the thematic dimension of the Frenchman's poem and sought to recreate it in his version. A cursory examination of the text reveals this assumption to be substantially true, for it preserves within its verbal confines all the elements necessary to convey the meaning contained in the original poem. By virtue of this fact, 'Don Juan en los infiernos' can be expected to provide significant evidence regarding the extent to which the thematic and stylistic infrastructure of 'Don Juan aux enfers' was reproduced by Reina in his poem. Consequently, in the comparative-contrastive analysis which follows, attention will be focused primarily upon those aspects in which the two versions fail to coincide.

The central theme of both poems is the aristocratic superiority of the poet-dandy, who remains impassive and unmoved in

the face of even the most daunting of spectacles. The symbolic narrative which serves as a vehicle for this idea is the tale of Don Juan's descent into Hell. The legendary seducer, who symbolises the poet-dandy, is depicted surrounded by the sinister trappings of infernal damnation and beset by the wrathful reproaches of his victims. Don Juan faces this chilling scenario unflinchingly, and retains his composure in spite of diverse assaults upon his sang-froid. As far as the development of this narrative is concerned, the second, third and fourth verses of each poem coincide quite closely in terms of content, while the fifth and sixth verses of 'Don Juan en los infiernos' correspond to the final verse of Baudelaire's original. The first verses of each poem merit examination last, as they not only display the most significant discrepancies of content, but also synthesise the different kinds of disparity which can be observed throughout the other verses. In the schema used below for the purposes of comparative and contrastive analysis, the elements of the content of each verse of Reina's poem have been rearranged so that they follow the order in which they occur in Baudelaire's text. They are numbered, however, according to the order in which they appear in 'Don Juan en los infiernos'. Italicised words and phrases indicate components which are not common to both versions. Let us begin by comparing the second stanzas of each poem:

Stanza 2

Baudelaire	Reina
1. Montrant leurs seins pendants et leurs robes ouvertes	2. abiertas las flotantes vestiduras

2. Des femmes se tordaient sous le noir firmament	1. mujeres, peregrinas hermosuras de ojos de luz y formas nacaradas
3. Et, comme un grand troupeau de victimes offertes	
4. Derrière lui traînaient un long mugissement	3. detrás del seductor gimen airadas

A notable discrepancy can be observed here between the two descriptions of the women who dog Don Juan's passage through the Underworld. The difference holds implications as regards the function of this element of content in each poem.

In 'Don Juan aux enfers', the presence of the women serves primarily to advance the symbolic narrative. Victims of Don Juan or of his kind, these fallen souls now confront the seducer with the chilling consequences of his misdeeds. Their fate prefigures that which awaits his also: a sobering prospect calculated to break the nerve of the most valient of individuals. In symbolic terms, the women represent forces sent to try the nerve of the dandy, to wrest a response from him. This significance can also be attributed to the women of Reina's poem, yet it is somehow far more implicit, far more incidental a function than it is in 'Don Juan aux enfers'. The Spaniard's description of the women is dominated by an evocation of their physical allure, as a result of which the creation of sensuous imagery takes precedence over thematic considerations. Responsibility for continuing the symbolic narrative is left to the modest verb phrase 'gimen airadas', which is tacked on to the description as if by way of an afterthought. Reina's priorities in this verse, then, appear to have been different from Baudelaire's in the equivalent verse in his original. This is borne out by a

similar difference of function in elements common to both versions. In 'Don Juan en los infiernos', the erotic connotations of the phrase 'abiertas las flotantes vestiduras' serve merely to reinforce the impact of the sensuous description of the women following Don Juan. As regards 'Don Juan aux enfers', on the other hand, the symbolic function of the narrative is sufficiently well established in the verse describing the women, for the eroticism of 'leurs robes ouvertes', intensified by the preceding phrase 'Montrant leurs seins pendants', to be subordinate to and assimilated into this purpose. The image of tunics unfastened to reveal pendulous breasts serves to add sexual temptation and the associations it acquires for Don Juan under the circumstances to the forces of fear, guilt and remorse, which together conspire to erode the studied self-control of the 'calme héros'. The presence of erotic imagery also serves as a reminder of the way in which the women met their downfall.

Stanza 3

Baudelaire	Reina
1. Don Luis	1. Su padre, ensangrentada la mejilla
2. Avec un doigt tremblant	5. Con mano temblorosa
3. Montrait à	3. Muestra a
4. Tous les morts errants sur les rivages	2. La legión terrible y clamorosa de los muertos que vaga por la orilla
5. Le fils audacieux qui railla son front blanc	4. Al hijo

In the third stanzas the elements which are exclusive to each version bear witness to a difference in the focus of attention. Description

in Reina's poem centres primarily on Don Luis and the shades, while in 'Don Juan aux enfers' it is the seducer to whom most attention is devoted. If these elements are examined more closely, however, a clear discrepancy in their function within the respective poems can be discerned. On reading the third stanza of each version, one has the impression that Baudelaire is telling a story, narrating events, whereas Reina is describing a scene. The Frenchman's allusion to Don Juan - 'le fils audacieux qui railla son front blanc' - elucidates the protagonist's role in the proceedings, and so serves primarily to advance the symbolic narrative. In 'Don Juan en los infiernos', on the other hand, Don Luis and the shades are presented in terms of their appearance and manner. The attitudes which they strike and the visual impact of their presence take precedence over the symbolic significance of events they anact.

Stanza 4

Baudelaire	Reina
1. Frissonnant sous son deuil	4. Vertiendo silenciosa amargo lloro
2. La chaste et maigre Elvire	1. La dulce Elvira triste y demacrada
3. Près de l'époux perfide qui fut son amant	3. Al lado de su amante va sentada
4. Semblait lui réclamer un suprême sourire/ou brillât la douceur de son premier serment	2. Oculto el rostro con las trenzas de oro

The discrepancy in the effect produced by the third stanzas of the two poems continues in the fourth. In this case the difference is even more marked, for in both versions the focus of attention is

the figure of Elvira. The effects and results achieved in each are, however, significantly different. In the last two lines of the stanza, Baudelaire interprets the physical and moral profile of Elvire delineated in the preceding lines in such a way as to establish clearly the symbolic value of the attitudes. Her reproachful demeanour claims some token of remorse, some acknowledgement of guilt from her lover. Elvire, therefore, represents one of the forces which put Don Juan's impassivity to the test. In 'Don Juan en los infiernos', on the contrary, Elvira's presence amounts to no more than a description of an attractive woman sitting crying in a despondent fashion. She figures in the poem less as a significant participant in a symbolic, narrative scenario than as part of a verbal tableau vivant. Once again Reina's attention to pose and gesture and physical appearance, overshadows the representative value of the scene.

Further discrepancies are to be observed in the final stanzas. In the following schema, the components marked 'A' correspond to the fifth stanza of Reina's poem, and those marked 'B', to the sixth:

Stanza 5/5 & 6

Baudelaire	Reina
1. Tout droit dans son armure un grand homme de pierre	A2. Una estatua de mármol, impasible
2. Se tenait à la barre	A1. Y en el timón mano poderosa
3. Et coupait le flot noir	A3. Traza cortando el agua tenebrosa de los infiernos el camino horrible
4. mais le calme héros, courbé sur sa rapière	B1. Mientras Don Juan tranquilo

5. regardait le sillage	B3. Los ojos clava en la fatal corriente
6. et ne daignait rien voir	B2. Indiferente a tantas desventuras y dolores
	B4. Y lanza al viento una canción de amores

The discrepancies which exist between the verses examined above are to a certain extent also present in these final stanzas. Where Baudelaire narrates, Reina appears to survey the scene unfolding before his mind's eye. On this occasion the difference is less evident, for the Spaniard's poem concentrates on presenting a number of simultaneous actions or events rather than merely descibing the manner and appearance of the participants. This, however, allows another disparity to come to light. The stanzas from 'Don Juan en los inviernos' reveal how Reina relied primarily on direct adjectivisation to communicate a sense of psychological or physical atmosphere in his poetry. The Styx is 'horrible' and 'fatal', while Don Juan is 'indiferente'. In Baudelaire's poem, qualities and atmosphere are presented in a far less explicit fashion. Adjectives are used more sparingly, and there is a greater reliance upon figurative usage. Thus the Styx is simply 'noir', a description which evokes its character far more effectively than Reina's blatant definitions. In 'Don Juan aux enfers', it is left to the attitudes of the characters to suggest the psychological tenor of the situation, and by extension, to convey, with a poignancy that can only be achieved by restraint in diction, the significance of the symbolic narrative.

A somewhat more dramatic difference between the final verses manifests itself in the closing lines of the poems. The tone of

moderation in diction which in Baudelaire's poem complements so appropriately the theme of the artist's impassivity, contrasts utterly with the histrionic flourish of Reina's protagonist, who glares wide-eyed at the murky water and then defiantly bursts into song. That Reina could even conceive of ending his poem in this fashion is proof enough of the distance separating the Spaniard from Baudelaire, both in terms of the aesthetic conventions they upheld and the way in which they envisaged the figure of the artist, irrespective of the modernity of the Spaniard's spiritual preoccupations.

The conclusion which emerges at this stage of analysis is that 'Don Juan aux enfers' and 'Don Juan en los infiernos' achieve fundamentally different effects. The thematic parity and the fact that the Spaniard borrowed the narrative framework represent only nominal rapports de fait, given that the dominant language functions in each poem are quite dissimilar. The discrepancies between the two versions are synthesised most vividly in the first stanza of each poem. The opening verse of 'Don Juan aux enfers' describes a sequence of events which plunge the reader immediately into the symbolic narrative:

> Quand don Juan descendit vers l'onde souterraine
> Et lorsqu'il eut donné son obole à Charon,
> Un sombre mendiant, l'oeil fier comme Antisthène,
> D'un bras vengeur et fort saisit chaque aviron.

Here a sense of menace and of the imminence of retribution is evoked by using the poetics of suggestion. The effect is achieved entirely through the description of one character, the

beggar boatman, whose singularly inhospitable demeanour prefigures the forces which will assail the heroic protagonist of the symbolic narrative to test his mettle and rigorous self-control. 'Don Juan en los infiernos', on the contrary, begins in a way which gives no suggestion whatsoever of any symbolic significance which may be attributed to the events depicted in the poem, 'El joyel diamantino en el sombrero, / la espada al cinto, el cuello de oro y blondas'. Here, the reader is confronted with nothing but a display of aristocrat finery. There is no hint of narrative, not to speak of in metaphorical function. The bejewelled cap, the sword, and the richly embroidered collar form an image which appeals purely to the eye and the senses. It exists independently of any situational context or even the character whose existence the accoutrements imply. It is not until the third line that identity of the wearer is made known: '[surca] don Juan gallardo y altanero'. Only in the final line does the setting become apparent, thereby completing the coordinates necessary to locate the image of the first two lines within a specific set of circumstances: '[surca] en fúnebre bajel las negras ondas'. Here once again the creation of plastic effects and sensuous imagery appears to take precedence over development of symbolic narrative. Where Baudelaire's poem immediately invites itself to be read for a meaning, Reina's 'Don Juan en los infiernos' offers a reading experience in which theme is subordinate or incidental to pictorial and plastic effects.

If 'Don Juan aux enfers' is an allegory, 'Don Juan en los infiernos' is an example of <u>ut pictura poesis</u>. In Reina's poem,

narrative is subordinate to descriptive effects. The achievement of the Spaniard's gloss is not to convey meaning, but to create an impression which is essentially pictorial. The progression of elements within the poem is not that which derives from the narration of a series of events in sequence, but that of a focus of attention passing over a scene and noting the components as it moves. The 'pensamiento de Baudelaire' is present, but only incidentally, for the language of 'Don Juan en los infiernos' works to other ends.

The predominant language function in Reina's poem is that of description (as opposed to narration). The elements which express this function fall into two categories. On the one hand, there are descriptions of physical characteristics, and on the other, descriptions of manner, that is, of qualities inherent in the characters of the poem or in their behaviour. A further distinction can be made between elements which simply define the physical appearance of objects and those which seek to emphasise the sensuous qualities inherent in them. These divisions are more readily appreciated when the classification of descriptive elements is presented in diagramatic form:

OBJECT	SENSUOUS IMPACT	PHYSICAL PRESENCE / ATTRIBUTES	MANNER
Don Juan	El joyel diamantino en el sombrero, /la espada al cinto, el cuello de oro y blondas		gallardo altanero tranquilo indiferente
Fallen women	ojos de luz formas nacaradas abiertas las flotantes vestiduras	hermosuras	
Shades		clamorosa	terrible

OBJECT	SENSUOUS IMPACT	PHYSICAL PRESENCE / ATTRIBUTES	MANNER
Elvira		demacrada silenciosa oculto el rostro	triste dulce amargo (lloro)
Statue		poderosa (mano)	impasible
Don Luis		ensangrentada (mejilla)	temblorosa (mano)
Styx		negras (ondas) tenebrosa (agua)	horrible (camino) fatal (corriente)
Boat			fúnebre

Each of the forms of description identified above serves in its own way to swing the balance in 'Don Juan en los infiernos' away from narrative and thematic concerns towards the creation of descriptive and pictorial effects. The evocations of Don Juan's luxurious attire and of the erotic aspect of the seducer's victims give rise to autonomous static images which appeal purely to the senses. Their impact is quite unrelated to the situational context presented in the poem or to any narrative development. The more straightforward descriptions of physical appearance and those of manner are equally unsuited to the creation of a narrative sequence of events or to infuse these events with a symbolic significance. Their failure to achieve either of these goals has its origins in a grammatical factor. The exclusive medium for the expression of these characteristics in 'Don Juan en los infiernos' is the adjective. Reina's use of direct adjectivisation renders the aspect and qualities attributed to objects in a static manner. The Spaniard's reliance upon adjectives, not only presents objects in a fixed, pictorial form, but also prevents the situational context in which they appear, from acquiring a symbolic significance. Reina's adjectives expend their potential

in direct definitions which are not developed beyond an immediate descriptive function. This contrasts with what occurs in 'Don Juan aux enfers', where descriptions are not an end in themselves. Here, the qualities inherent in the characters of the symbolic narrative or in the situation evoked are conveyed not by direct definition but by suggestion. The description of the beggar boatman, for example, not only ensures the narrative dimension of the poem by referring to actions as well as static qualities or characteristics, but also evokes the psychological forces at work within the symbolic situation with the poignancy necessary if the narrative is to acquire a clearly-defined symbolic significance. Equally absent from Reina's poem are descriptions which elucidate the role of the characters in the situational setting of the poem and the relationship between them, such as 'qui railla son front blanc', 'l'époux perfide et qui fut son amant' (Don Juan) and ' [illegible] emblait lui réclamer un suprême sourire' (Elvira). These help to develop the psychological drama enacted by the characters, which provides the key to the allegorical significance of 'Don Juan aux enfers'.

The predominance of the descriptive function in 'Don Juan en los infiernos' and the role accorded to the adjective within this function severely curtail the action of that customary agent of narrative, the verb. In Reina's poem the focus is on what characters or objects are like, rather than what they do, making the verbs mere adjuncts in a process which is essentially depictive in nature. As a result, actions are converted into mere poses, and events are immobilised and transformed into scenes or tableaux-vivants.

The discrepancies which exist between the achievement of 'Don

Juan en los infiernos' and its source, 'Don Juan aux enfers' indicate that although Reina's spiritual preoccupations were of a kind which led him to respond sympathetically to Baudelaire's work, he did not in a precise way share with Baudelaire the dimension of aesthetics which concerns itself with the nature and function of poetry. This view is corroborated by the presence in 'Don Juan en los infiernos' (and, indeed, throughout La vida inquieta) of a grandiloquent style. The persistence of this feature in Spanish poets of Reina's generation and even later is to be explained by what Gustav Siebenmann has described as the 'tradición oratoria' in post-Classical Spanish literature:

> Al tratar con la literatura postclásica española nos encontramos constantemente con las manifestaciones típicas del estilo oratorio. . . . [N]os referimos concretamente a la rara preferencia - o al menos mayor tolerancia - entre los españoles, en comparación con otros pueblos, por todo lo sonoro, hiperbólico o efectista (5).

The aesthetic difference which, consequently, separates 'Don Juan en los infiernos' from 'Don Juan aux enfers' poses a question regarding the extent to which Reina sought to reproduce or was capable of reproducing Baudelaire's original poem in his own creation. A clue to the elucidation of this matter is to be found in Reina's aesthetics, a synopsis of which is provided by Aguilar Piñal in La obra poética de Manuel Reina:

> Comprende [Reina] que deleitar a los sentidos es la única finalidad que él ve a la poesía y al arte; y el único programa aceptable para un artista es aquel que procura la emoción producida por las sensaciones de belleza . . .
>
> . . . . . .

> [Sustituye] el sentimiento intimista, la pasión violenta, por la sensación visual de la belleza creada artificialmente por el poeta (pp. 75-77).

The conception of art outlined above confirms that in 'Don Juan en los infiernos' Reina's creative imagination was working towards a different end than Baudelaire's when he conceived of 'Don Juan aux enfers'. Herein is also to be found, moreover, an explanation of why the two poems differ from each other in the way they do. Given that Reina sought to create verbal artefacts which appealed exclusively to the senses, the displays of sensuous imagery, the overall pictorial effect and the lack of attention to the expression of conceptual meaning are all logical features in 'Don Juan en los infiernos'.

It has been suggested that Reina's aesthetics of sensation, this strain of 'art for art's sake' designed to awaken in the reader a purely sensory response at the expense of meaning or message, reflects the use of art as a means of evasion (6). The origin of this contention is to be found in the sense of malaise which pervades La vida inquieta and which, it is argued, compelled Reina to flee into worlds of verbal beauty for consolation; to create an art for the impersonal sensual self, in order to forget the conscious personal self, host to anguished preoccupations. This view is corroborated by the fact that wherever in La vida inquieta the creation of sensuous effects gives way to the expression of conceptual meaning, this meaning always reflects or embodies in some way a pessimistic or even anguished vision of existence. If it is true that the aesthetic principles which give rise to La vida inquieta were those of the poetics of evasion, then the poesía efectista of the collection

must have been not only a wilful creation in itself, but also the result of a conscious intention to produce such effects in poetry. It is only a small step from this notion to the belief that the sensuous effects of La vida inquieta represent a form of Decadent artificiality, and so to the possibility that Reina derived this aspect of his poetry in some way from Baudelairian aesthetics.

4. Le goût de l'artifice

> Like the major decadent writers Reina lays considerable stress upon artificiality. He chooses to describe natural effects in terms of wrought and precious metals, polished gemstones and rich tapestries and brocades rather than by means of conventional formulae. Like them he also sets many of his poems in a décor of Ancient Greece and Imperial Rome or fabled lands, which backcloth acts as a fitting decadent setting to the description of amorous nymphs and complaisant and sensuous lovers in perverse or 'artificial' encounters. . . . The presentation of the female figures in Reina's verses shows all the love of the Decadent writers and painters for the artificial, the over-dressed, over-rouged courtesans, bejewelled hetairas, hieratic femmes fatales and tantalysing green-eyed nymphs and ondines (pp. xxv-vi).

Thus begins the section of R. A. Cardwell's introduction to his selection of poems from La vida inquieta, in which this critic presents the case for considering Reina among the writers of the Décadence. Cardwell calls upon two factors in support of his contention. The first is that the 'artificial' effects in Reina's poetry are intentional, and so are 'artificial' in the Decadent sense of the word:

> The effects are prepared. Will power and the action of the intellect are brought into play to develop them. . . . The artist can induce infinite ecstasy, infinite multiplication of

> selfhood. He can deny 'natural' emotions and feelings (Op.cit., p. xxxii).

The second is that these effects are consistent with a concept of artistic beauty designed to provide consolation in the face of angustia and scepticism. '[T]he essential spur to deliberate artistic effects and to escapism in artificial worlds remains', argues Cardwell, 'the spur of sceptical insight' (p. xxix). This view tallies with that held by Aguilar Piñal, who declares in La obra poética de Manuel Reina that

> [p]ara Reina, el poeta es un 'ser elegido', un soñador, un ambicioso de gloria, 'a quien dieron por castigo sensible corazón hados adversos', y que, buscando un aliciente a sus penas y una evasión de la realidad, 'labra copas de fúlgidos metales donde vierte la sangre de sus venas (pp. 85-86).

To speak of Decadent artificiality in respect of Reina, however, is to imply that a genealogical relationship exists between the Spaniard's aesthetics and those of Baudelaire in his capacity as the first and, perhaps, the greatest exponent of the Decadent cult of artificiality. Is such an implication well-founded? How far can Reina's 'artificiality' be considered to derive from that expounded by Baudelaire? It rapidly becomes evident with comparison that Baudelaire's goût de l'artifice is a far more complex phenomenon than that which manifests itself in Reina's poetry. Sensuous effects of the kind found in La vida inquieta are certainly found in Baudelaire's work, but it is doubtful whether they are merely the agents of escapist fantasy or retreat from the world into the realms of pure sensation. Sensuality and eroticism in Les Fleurs du Mal do not preclude the expression of meaning or consciousness of existential

situation, as has been demonstrated above in respect of 'Don Juan aux enfers'. The effects may be calculated, the stimuli the products of intellectualisation, but they are never an end in themselves, a source of effect pure and simple. They serve the conceptual dimension which is rarely lacking in Baudelaire's poetry. More significant, however, is that Baudelairian artificiality does not merely amount to the wilful creation of contrived verbal sense-stimuli. It involves far more than the expression of a systematised impulse to escape unpalatable realities. Baudelaire's goût de l'artifice has what R. A. Cardwell refers to as a 'spiritual side', a dimension which he finds 'lacking in Reina's work' (Op. cit., p. xxxiii). The existence of this 'spiritual side' makes it more accurate to consider the Frenchman's cult of artificiality in terms of a philosophical attitude or a system of existential values than in terms of a literary phenomenon.

To explain precisely what is to be understood by artificiality as conceived of by Baudelaire would involve a protracted digression which at this juncture is not really justified. Suffice it to say that the origins of the Frenchman's goût de l'artifice can be considered to reside in his intuition of a higher reality, Idéal. This experience gave rise on the one hand, to the poet's vehement repudiation of le naturel. Baudelaire applied the term 'natural' to life without knowledge of the greater life beyond. He equated 'natural' existence with a state of spiritual incompletion comparable to one of original sin (7). On the other hand, the Frenchman's consciousness of what is referred to in Les Paradis artificiels as 'la certitude d'une existence meilleure' (OC, 568), is the source of the

possibly more familiar equation of artificiality with wilfulness and self-consciousness. Communion with Idéal gives rise to the conviction that the possibility of a more authentic form of existence is to be realised only 'par l'exercice journalier de notre volonté' (OC, 568). Furthermore, it engenders in the poet acute awareness of the quality of existence. His consciousness remains ever alert, either in anticipation of the fleeting visitation of Idéal, or in readiness to stifle 'natural' behaviour, which represents an inferior mode of existence. The poet monitors ceaselessly his perceptions, his states of mind and the flow of inner events. This eventually leads to the permanent state of self-consciousness, the obsessive, analytical introspection, the disappearance of spontaneous emotion and instinctive life, and the neurotic malaise which literary historians have come to recognise as the hallmarks of Decadent sensibility. This is the state of being which Baudelaire described through the mouthpiece of Samuel Cramer, the protagonist of La Fanfarlo:

> [P]laignez-*moi* ou plutôt plaignez-*nous*, car j'ai beaucoup de frères de ma sorte; c'est la haine de tous et de nous-mêmes qui nous a conduits vers ces mensonges. C'est par désespoir de ne pouvoir être nobles et beaux suivant les moyens naturels que nous nous sommes si bizarrement fardé le visage. Nous nous sommes tellement appliqués à sophistiquer notre coeur, nous avons tant abusé du microscope pour étudier les hideuses excroissances et les honteuses verrues dont il est couvert, et que nous grossissons à plaisir, qu'il est impossible que nous parlions le langage des autres hommes. Ils vivent pour vivre, et nous, hélas! nous vivons pour savoir. Tout le mystère est là. L'âge ne change que la voix et n'abolit que les cheveux et les dents; nous avons altéré l'accent de la nature, nous avons extirpé une à une les pudeurs virginales dont était hérissé notre intérieur d'honnête homme. Nous avons psychologisé comme les fous, qui augmentent leur folie en s'efforcant de la

> comprendre. Les années n'infirment que les membres, et nous avons déformé les passions. Malheur, trois fois malheur aux pères infirmes qui nous ont faits rachitiques et mal venus, prédestinés que nous sommes à n'enfanter que des mort-nés! (OC, 277).

The wilful creation of an artificial paradise through verbal effects is a logical derivative of the Decadent sensibility. Even if Reina's poesía efectista is interpreted in these terms, however, it is necessary to acknowledge that the Spaniard's 'artificiality' represents only one of a number of tips to the iceberg of Decadent artificiality as expounded by Baudelaire. The genealogical connection is, therefore, tenuous. Yet there is another factor which casts doubt on the very existence of such a connection. Reina's cult of plasticity, sensual imagery and his creation of an impersonal art of sensation may owe as much to the aesthetic precepts of the Parnassians or to the exponents of l'art pour l'art, as it does to Decadent artificiality and, by extension, Baudelaire. Techniques which closely resemble those used by Reina are present in the poetry of an equally if not more probable contender for influence, Théophile Gautier. In Emaux et camées alone, images can be found such as 'Elle semblait, marbre de chair', 'le frais satin de sa peau', 'Avec un rire de corail', 'l'on voit monter ses prunelles dans la nacre de l'infini' ('Le Poème de la femme', PC, 7); 'les langueurs nacrées / De tes yeux battus et vainqueurs' ('Les Accroche-coeurs', PC, 89); 'chair nacrée' and 'Son sein, neige moulée en globe' ('Symphonie en blanc majeur', PC, 21), to list but a few. Pictorial or sculptural effects (consonant with Gautier's use of the transposition d'art) such as 'Dans

une autre stance plastique / Elle groupe ses charmes nus' ('Le Poème de la femme', PC, 7) are also to be encountered. In 'Etude de mains' I ('Impéria'), (PC, 11) and 'Variations sur le carnaval de Venise', III (PC, 18) one finds a tableau-vivant effect similar to that created in 'Don Juan en los infiernos'.

The motives which led Reina to create his impersonal, sensuous poetry of sensation may have also have been closer to those of Gautier than to those of Baudelaire. Raymond Giraud has argued in respect of Gautier that ' [t] he apparent impassiveness of a glittering gem-like surface conceals an underlying sadness. . . . The l'art pour l'art doctrine of impassiveness . . . also could be a doctrine of retreat from the painfulness of life' (8).

A reasonable degree of doubt must then remain regarding whether Reina's 'artificiality' can be placed unequivocally and exclusively in a tradition deriving from Baudelaire.

5. Echoes

Several further echoes of Baudelairian sources in La vida inquieta merit mention before examination of this collection of verse is concluded. Even though the evidence which they comprise is not sufficient in itself to prove that an influence took place, these similarities are significant because they display a high degree of resemblance and serve at the very least to provide further illustration of discrepancies in the way Baudelaire and Reina handled similar material or treated similar themes.

In 'A Antonio Aguilar y Cano' (p. 78), a singularly forceful image is used to describe earthly existence, in order to convey

the idea that it may be to one's advantage to die at an early age:

> ¿Qué más grande supremo beneficio
> que salir para siempre ileso y puro
> del antro pavoroso de chacales
> de víboras, de tigres y panteras,
> que titulamos mundo?

The listing of zoological images recalls a stanza from Baudelaire's 'Au lecteur' (OC, 43):

> Mais parmi les chacals, les panthères, les
> lices,
> Les singes, les scorpions, les vautours,
> les serpents,
> Les monstres glapissants, hurlants, grognants,
> rampants
> Dans la ménagerie infâme de nos vices . . .

The presence in both lists of jackals, panthers and serpents, as well as the technique of enumeration itself, suggest that the image in Reina's poem may well have been inspired directly by the verse from 'Au lecteur'. If this was in reality the case here, then it is also worth noting that no exception occurred on this occasion to the rule which states that imagery is when transferred from the source text to the influenced text, it undergoes a degree of transformation in terms of its form or its function. Here, four levels of modification can be observed. In the first place, 'A Antonio Aguilar y Cano' does not preserve exactly the surface structure of the source. The original enumeration is not reproduced in its entirety, and 'tigres' is added to the elements carried over from 'Au lecteur'.

Secondly, there is a change in the lexical form of the comparandum. 'Ménagerie infâme' becomes 'antro pavoroso'. Thirdly, the comparatum is completely different. The image represents not 'nos vices' but '[el] mundo'. The fourth transformation concerns the conceptual context in which the image is located. It is possibly the most profound of the transformations, for it reflects a disparity in the way in which Baudelaire and Reina conceptualised their experience in 'Au lecteur' and 'A Antonio Aguilar y Cano' respectively. The comparatum 'mundo' reflects a neo-Romantic conception of human destiny, whereby innocent man is born into a malign universe or is the victim of malevolent fate. The negative forces which rule the Romantic hero's life are external to the man himself. Baudelaire's use of the zoological image to represent 'nos vices' implies, by way of contrast, the belief that the forces which bring about man's downfall, which make him a maudit or a damné reside within his own being or constitution. They are inherent qualities, like original sin. This difference between the two poets is, perhaps, only incidental to the question of influence on this occasion. Nevertheless, it merits identification inasmuch as elsewhere - in the case of 'Don Juan en los infiernos', for example - it does actually determine the extent to which the Baudelairian source was reproduced.

Further echoes of Baudelaire are to be found in 'La visión amada' (p. 89). This poem describes an encounter with the muse. It invites comparison with 'Elévation' (OC, 46), not only on a thematic level - both poems evoke an extraordinary, 'higher' dimension of experience - but also by virtue of the images of soaring flight into vast realms of dazzling purity which are used to describe the experience. Two images in particular recall

'Elévation'. '[L]a sublime esfera luminosa' and 'el azul espacio transparente' convey the same sense of luminosity and unbounded space which is communicated in 'le feu clair qui remplit les espaces limpides' and 'les champs lumineux et sereins'. The proximity of lexis justifies that Baudelaire's poem should figure among other sources of a hypothetical influence on this occasion (9). Once again, however, the possibility of a literary debt brings with it awareness of the discrepancies between source and influence. In 'Elévation' the sense of plenitude and spiritual vigour which characterises experience of Idéal is suggested through images of physical and emotional ecstasy and enthusiasm: 'agilité', 'se pâme', 'sillonnes', 'volupté', 'Envole-toi', 'bois', 'vigoureuse', 'gaiement', 'heureux', 'sereins', 'sans effort'. In 'La visión amada', on the other hand, the experience of poetic inspiration is rendered through the presentation, using direct description, of a visual image with both sensual and spiritual overtones:

> pálida surge con faz de diosa
> en el azul espacio transparente
> la pálida musa de ala refulgente
> y túnica flotante y vaporosa.

This once again recalls the aesthetic distance which separates 'Don Juan en los infiernos' from 'Don Juan aux enfers'.

The final echo which it is proposed to examine here is to be found in the poem 'En abril' (p. 143). The lines 'Así mi pobre corazón herido, / cementerio olvidado y aterido' recall the image 'Je suis un cimetière abhorré de la lune' from 'Spleen' ('J'ai

plus de souvenirs que si j'avais mille ans', OC, 85). If this similarity does in reality represent an influence, then it is no more than a simple case of Reina borrowing an image which suited his purpose at the time. A more likely source for the image is, however, Reina's own experience, since the poem 'En abril' describes the poet's reflexions while wandering round a graveyard.

III CONCLUSION

The assumption that there is little of importance to be said in respect of Baudelaire's influence upon Reina is clearly unfounded. The evidence available for examination gives considerable scope for discussion, and the conclusions which can be drawn as a result are far from inconsequential. All the same, it is only fair to acknowledge that Reina's debt to Baudelaire is not, as it manifests itself in the former's poetry, a widespread phenomenon. The story of the Frenchman's influence begins and ends with La vida inquieta. When the Spaniard was composing his first volumes of verse the conditions which favoured this influence had not arisen. In the collections which came after La vida inquieta, such as La canción de las estrellas (1895), Poemas paganos (1896), El jardín de los poetas (1899) and Robles de la selva sagrada (1906), no similarities are to be found whose presence could be explained by factors other than influence or which could not be attributed to sources other than the work of Baudelaire. Indeed, judging by the number of allusions which Reina made to poets other than Baudelaire, (the verse homages of El jardín de los poetas, from which Baudelaire is significantly absent, are a case in point), the Frenchman occupied a relatively modest position in the Spaniard's literary

affections. Even in La vida inquieta itself, once 'Don Juan en los infiernos' and 'A un poeta' have been taken into consideration, there is precious little else to support speculation regarding a specific debt to Baudelaire. In this collection, as in others, evidence which suggests the impact of Gautier, Hugo and Heine is much more widespread.

On the occasions when an influence can be said to have taken place, factors come to light which restrict its extent. Evidence shows that Reina conceived of the poet in broadly Baudelairian terms: the poète maudit, the dandy who cultivated impassivity, not only to reflect in behavioural terms his belief in his own innate superiority over other mortals, but also to mask spiritual anguish and a tormented sensibility. Yet even here something of the grandiose, melodramatic Romantic image of the artist survived in the Spaniard's work to colour the presentation of this concept. Moreover, Reina was either unable or unwilling to embrace the view of the nature and function of poetry to which Baudelaire subscribed, or, consequently to adhere to the attendant conventions of poetic diction.

These considerations, however, should not be permitted to overshadow the significant position which Manuel Reina occupies in the history of Baudelaire's influence in Spanish modernismo. Reina, the first Spanish precursor of modernismo, in whose work unequivocal proof of Baudelairian influence is to be encountered. Furthermore, his partial assimilation of Baudelairian sources heralds the ambivalent reception which was to be reserved for Baudelaire's work among the modernistas themselves. Finally, Reina was among the first to reinterpret from a sympathetic standpoint the aspect of Baudelaire's artistic persona - his

vital anguish, his *malaise* - which had already become established as the cornerstone of the critical image of the Frenchman diffused in Spain. He thereby initiated a process of revaluation in respect of the author of *Les Fleurs du Mal*, responsibility for which is usually attributed to the *modernistas*.

NOTES

1. One must assume that the allusion in question is that which occurs in 'A un poeta', La vida inquieta (Madrid: Fernando Fe, 1894), p. 7.

2. See the first chapter of Part Two of the present study.

3. R. A. Cardwell, in his introduction to a selection of poems from La vida inquieta (Exeter Hispanic Texts, 20, University of Exeter, 1978), erroneously declares that Reina 'translated La Fanfarlo' (p. xxv).

4. Op. cit, pp. v-xxxiv.

5. Los estilos poéticos en España desde 1900, versión española de Angel San Miguel (Madrid: Gredos, 1973), p. 23.

6. R. A. Cardwell repeatedly makes allusion to the consolatory function which Reina ascribed to poetry in the introduction to his selection of poems from La vida inquieta. Aguilar Piñal also declares in La obra poética de Manuel Reina (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1968) that 'es indudable que para Reina la poesía es, ante todo, un arte de evasión, una contemplación de lo bello como fuente de placer' (p. 37).

7. Baudelaire considered man's natural state to be one of incompletion and imperfection. Declarations in the essay entitled, appropriately, 'L'Eloge du Maquillage', serve to elucidate the significance which the Frenchman conferred upon the terms 'naturel' and 'artificiel':

> Tout ce qui est beau et noble est le résultat de la raison et du calcul. Le crime, dont l'animal humain a puisé le goût dans le ventre de sa mère, est originellement naturel. La vertu, au contraire, est artificielle, surnaturelle, puisqu'il a fallu, dans tous les temps et chez toutes les nations, des dieux et des prophètes pour l'enseigner à l'humanité naturalisé, et que l'homme seul, eût été impuissant à la découvrir. Le mal se fait sans effort, naturellement, par fatalité; le bien est toujours le produit d'un art (OC, 562).

Here the natural state of man is equated with one of original sin, a condition which Baudelaire considered to be reflected in all the sources of knowledge which 'l'homme seul' had elevated to the status of oracles. 'Défions-nous', urged the poet elsewhere, 'du peuple, du bon sens, du coeur, de l'inspiration et de l'evidence' (OC, 635).

8. 'Gautier's Dehumanisation of Art', L'Esprit Créateur, 1963, pp. 3-9 (p. 9).

9. The image of soaring flight is a standard form of representing the state of inspiration or other form of expansion of the consciousness. Spanish antecedents of the metaphor in 'La visión amada' include the following lines from Espronceda's 'A Jarifa en una orgía':

> Yo me arrojé, cual rápido cometa,
> en alas de mi ardient fantasía:
> do quier mi arrebatada mente inquieta
> dichas y triunfos encontrar creía.
>
> Yo me lancé con atrevido vuelo
> fuera del mundo en la región eteréa
> y hallé la duda, y el radiante cielo
> Vi convertirse en ilusión aérea.

CHAPTER TWO

'[E]stá usted saturado de toda la más flamante literatura francesa ... [y] usted no imita a ninguno ... [L]o ha puesto a cocer en el alambique de su cerebro, y ha sacado de ella una rara quintaesencia'

Juan Valera, OC, I, 1734.

I EXISTING CRITICAL OPINION

Two conclusions which emerge from the examination of Rubén Darío's critical writings and chronicles undertaken in the second part of the present study have a significant bearing on the question of the Nicaraguan's debt to Baudelaire. The first is that Darío was acquainted with an extensive range of the Frenchman's work. The second is that while he reproached Baudelaire's literary excesses, he appears to have possessed a genuine insight into the Frenchman's spiritual dilemma and the view of art and the artist which he had been responsible for putting into circulation. These factors bode favourably for a comparative study. Familiarity with a writer's works and affinities of thought are conducive to the occurrence of direct influence.

There are then, grounds to suspect that the question of Baudelairian influence in Rubén Darío is worthy of examination. This assumption, however, remains untested. Existing critical coverage of the theme amounts to no more than a few isolated and largely insubstantiated declarations. Jaime Torres Bodet affirms in Rubén Darío: abismo y cima (México 1966) that '[m]ucha deuda tenía [Darío] con Victor Hugo, con Baudelaire y con Verlaine' (p. 283). Earlier in the same study the critic mentions, as if the fact were relevant to influence, that the year 1867 witnessed both the birth of Darío and the death of Baudelaire, 'que influiría de modo tan penetrante - aunque indirecto - en la vida del niño nicaragüense' (p. 9). No attempt is made to elucidate the question further. Such statements, however well-intentioned, are of so little real value to the comparativist as to be better left unsaid. Other critics have at least identified

broad areas of similarity. Pedro Salinas, for example, has indicated that Darío adhered to the elitist concept of art and the artist formulated by Baudelaire, while Octavio Paz has suggested that the aesthetics of modernité are perpetuated in the works of the Nicaraguan (1). Neither, however, have gone beyond the broad area of tradition to enter into specifics of the kind which provide a basis for the discussion of real influence. Erwin K. Mapes's L'Influence française dans l'oeuvre de Rubén Darío (Paris 1925) has an encouraging title but amounts to a little more than a somewhat indiscriminate enumeration of general similarities between Darío's work and that of a host of French writers. Mapes fails to make precise comparisons or to present any case for influence. Once again, he speaks of 'influences' with little justification for using such a term. Roberto Armijo goes one stage further, when, in Rubén Darío y su intuición del mundo (El Salvador 1967), he not only entertains the possibility of Baudelairian influence in Darío, particularly in the last years of the Nicaraguan's life, but also indicates specific areas of comparability between the two writers:

> Darío es fundamentalmente un poeta católico y se acercará amorosamente a Verlaine. Admira lo que tiene de íntimo y triste. (En Verlaine siente objetivado su ser). En su madurez lo recordará con cariño. Buscará a otros poetas más potentes, más lúcidos en su agonía. Baudelaire resurgirá reminiscente entonces en su obra. Presencia escondida, asimilada y transformada por su sentimiento místico, dualista. Sería interesante rastrear esta actitud de Darío, recogida en el espíritu vigoroso de Baudelaire. Constantes ideológicos del autor de Las Flores del Mal, como el asco, el esplín, la mentalidad religiosa, el ideal teológico de la belleza, el escepticismo, la alienación del hombre moderno, la tradición aristocrática del pensamiento, el desprecio al mundo que le tocó vivir y a las muchedumbres, son frecuentes y cardinales en su estética (p. 94).

Even here, however, Armijo does no more than to endorse the feasibility of an influence study, without presuming to take it upon himself to develop the ideas which he suggests.

Given these circumstances, any study of Darío's possible debt to Baudelaire must begin be establishing a firm factual basis from which to approach the question. Beyond this the critic does not need to be excessively ambitious. Merely to identify the grounds, if any, upon which the possibility of influence may be postulated, and to consider the evidence for and against such a hypothesis will alone suffice to take the examination of Baudelaire's influence in Darío beyond the present state of affairs. Any conclusive proof of influence which may come to light in the course of this enquiry can only serve to advance elucidation of the whole question of French influence in modernismo, however humble the contribution.

For the purpose of the present study, it is proposed to examine only three of Darío's creative works: Azul . . . (1888, enlarged 1890), Prosas profanas (1896, enlarged 1901) and Cantos de vida y de esperanza (1905). While there is no reason to discount the possibility of Baudelairian influence in Darío's work before Azul . . . or, as Armijo has suggested, after the Cantos, it is more in keeping with the parameters of the present study to confine attention to those works which represent his creative activity as an exponent of Spanish (Peninsular) modernismo.

II AZUL . . .

1. Galicismo mental

There is a general consensus among critics that Darío

underwent the influence of French literature, including the work of Baudelaire, when he composed the short prose pieces and verse poems which are gathered together under the title of Azul . . . . Antonio Oliver Belmás remarks in Este otro Rubén Darío (Barcelona 1960) that

> [l]os antecedentes de la prosa de Darío, las verdaderas fuentes estéticas del prosista de Metapa, radican de modo remoto en los clásicos castellanos y de manera inmediata en Bécquer, en Montalvo, y singularmente, en Martí. Pero, de manera indudable y a partir de su amistad con Francisco Gavidia [sic] en 1882, hay hontanares estilísticos de Darío que brotan no en la vertiente castellana, sino en la francesa, y derivan de Gautier, Flaubert, Mendès, Coppée, Baudelaire, Renan, los Goncourt, Daudet, etc. (p. 407).

The first Spanish critic to identify the 'Frenchness' of Azul . . . was Juan Valera, in the notorious carta-prólogo which served as a preface to the second edition of Azul . . . . It is significant that Valera should have remarked that although the sources which had formed the Nicaraguan's style and fed his imagination were evidently French, they had been so well assimilated as to make it impossible to attribute the presence of any one particular element of Azul . . . to the influence of one specific French author:

> Leídas las . . . páginas de Azul . . . , lo primero que se nota es que está usted saturado de toda la más flamante literatura francesa: Hugo, Lamartine, Musset, Baudelaire, Leconte de Lisle, Gautier, Bourget, Sully-Prudhomme, Daudet, Zola, Barbey d'Aurevilly, Catulle Mendes, Rollinat, Goncourt, Flaubert, y todos los demás poetas y novelistas han sido por usted bien estudiados y mejor comprendidos. Y usted no imita a ninguno: ni es usted romántico, ni naturalista, ni neurótico, ni decadente, ni simbólico, ni parnasiano. Usted lo ha revuelto todo: lo ha puesto a cocer en el alambique de su cerebro, y ha sacado de ello una rara quintaesencia (OC, I, 1734).

A fairly cursory reading of Azul . . . is sufficient to endorse

Valera's opinion, certainly as far as the influence of Baudelaire is concerned. There is no single element in the book which stands out as being unquestionably Baudelairian in origin. The resemblances which can be detected are confined, almost without exception, to generic similarities which suggest an affinity of aesthetic thought of the kind alluded to by Armijo. This resemblance involves the conception of the nature and function of art and the image of the artist reflected in Azul . . . , which derives from aesthetic precepts for the elaboration and diffusion of which Baudelaire was significantly, although certainly not entirely, responsible (2). While such similarities allow Darío to be located firmly in the same aesthetic tradition as that to which Baudelaire belonged, they offer little by way of which to infer direct influence. In order to determine the likelihood and extent of Baudelairian influence in Azul . . . , then, it is necessary to turn to evidence of a more specific character. Sources of such material are three in number. To begin with, there is Darío's own testimony concerning the major influences upon his work at that time. Secondly, there is the specific generic similarity between Darío's short prose pieces and the Baudelairian poème en prose. Finally, there are a number of reasonably well-developed textual similarities that permit the possibility of a direct debt to Baudelaire to be entertained.

2. Authorial testimony

The occasions on which Darío discussed influences upon his work show the Nicaraguan to have had few reservations about admitting literary debts. The section devoted to Azul . . . in Historia de mis libros (1909) is a particularly enlightening

confirmation by Darío of Valera's contention that Azul . . . owed significant facets of its literary character to French influences:

> Acostumbrado al eterno clisé español del Siglo de Oro y a su indecisa poesía moderna, encontré en los franceses . . . una mina literaria por explotar: la aplicación de su manera de adjetivar, ciertos modos sintácticos, de su aristocracia verbal, al castellano. Lo demás lo daría el carácter de nuestro idioma y la capacidad individual (OC, I, 196).

Darío further revealed that his interest in French literary style, his 'penetración en el mundo del arte verbal francés' (OC, I, 196) was awakened before his arrival in Chile. It arose as a result of his friendship with the poet Francisco Gadivia, through whom he came to know and enjoy the works of Victor Hugo. Elsewhere, in the Autobiografía (1912), Darío attributed the growth of his favourable disposition towards French literature to a certain Gallic spirit inherent in the work of those writers under the influence of whose example he served his apprenticeship as a stylist while working as a correspondent for La Nación in Buenos Aires:

> He de manifestar que es en ese periódico donde comprendí a mi manera el manejo del estilo y que en ese momento fueron mis maestras de prosa dos hombres muy diferentes: Paul Groussac y Santiago Estrada, además de José Martí. Seguramente en uno y otro existía espíritu de Francia (OC, I, 60).

As the expository tone of such comments indicates, Darío did not indulge in reminiscence of the kind which characterises the Historia simply out of nostalgia. It provided above all an opportunity to explain certain aspects of his work, to clarify issues, and to shed light on areas which he felt might be open to

misinterpretation or regarding which his critical commentators had already fostered misleading impressions. One of his concerns in respect of Azul . . . was to establish the true extent and nature of his 'galicismo mental'. The evidence which he provided to this end is, therefore, precise, and furnishes some very valuable information regarding the influences which he underwent at the time. When composing Azul . . . , Darío clarified in the Historia, his main source of inspiration (and the reason for the 'novelty' of Azul . . .) had been the Parnassians. This, he explained, was because, on the one hand, he had recently discovered their work, and, on the other hand, he had not then had the opportunity to become acquainted with the work of Verlaine and subsequent generations of poets:

> El origen de la novedad fue mi reciente conocimiento de autores franceses del Parnaso, pues a la sazón la lucha simbolista apenas comenzaba en Francia y no era conocida en el extranjero (OC, I, 195-96).

Darío had in fact made an admission to virtually the same effect in 'Los colores del estandarte', an article published in La Nación (Buenos Aires) in 1896. Addressing himself to Paul Groussac, the theatre critic of La Nación, from whom the Nicaraguan learnt to 'pensar en francés', Darío explained that

> cuando yo publiqué en Chile mi Azul . . . , los decadentes apenas comenzaban a emplumar en Francia. Sagesse [1881] de Verlaine era desconocido. Los maestros que me han conducido al 'galicismo mental' de don Juan Valera, son, algunos poetas parnasianos, para el verso, y usted, para la prosa (OC, IV, 873-84).

As regards precise influences in Azul . . . Darío identified above all that of Catulle Mendès:

> Fue Catulle Mendès mi verdadero iniciador, un Mendès traducido, pues mi francés todavía era precario. Algunos de sus cuentos lírico-eróticos, una que otra poesía de las comprendidas en el 'Parnasse contemporain', fueron para mí una revelación (OC, I, 196).

He also acknowledged a debt to Gautier, 'el Flaubert de "La Tentation de St Antoine"', and Paul de Saint-Victor, all of whom 'me aportarían una inédita y deslumbrante concepción del estilo' (OC, I, 196). Mentioned elsewhere in the chapter devoted to Azul . . . in the Historia are Armand Silvestre, Mèzeroi, Daudet and Zola. Darío also alluded to a longstanding devotion to Hugo, and expressed his admiration for the poets besides Mendès to whom he dedicated the sonnets of 'Medallones': Leconte de Lisle, Walt Whitman, J. J. Palma and Salvador Díaz Mirón. The testimony of the Historia is corroborated and extended somewhat in 'Los colores del estandarte' (1896) where Darío first identified influences at work in Azul . . .

> El Azul . . . es un libro parnasiano y, por tanto, francés. En él aparecen por primera vez en nuestra lengua el 'cuento' parisiense, la adjetivación francesa, el giro galo injertado en el párrafo clásico castellano; la chuchería de Goncourt, la câlinerie erótica de Mendès, el encogimiento verbal de Heredia, y hasta su poquito de Coppée.
>
> Qui pourrais-je imiter pour être original?
>
> me decía yo. Pues a todos. A cada cual le aprendía lo que me agradaba, lo que cuadraba a mi sed de novedad y a mi delirio de arte; los elementos que constituirían después un medio de manifestación individual. Y el caso es que resulté original (OC, IV, 875-76).

Generally speaking, there seems little reason why Darío's testimony in respect of influences in Azul . . . should be con-

sidered as other than reliable. He appears to have been quite ready to admit to influences, especially when he felt that his work ran the risk of critical misrepresentation. Consequently, Darío gives the impression of having monitored his experiences of formative influences closely, lucidly and honestly. The absence of any reference to Baudelaire in the section of the Historia devoted to Azul . . . would therefore tend to suggest that the direct influence of the French poet in this work was minimal, if indeed it occurred at all; that Darío either did not consider himself to have incurred a debt to Baudelaire, or recognised a debt but deemed it too insignificant to mention (3).

The Nicaraguan's willingness to make explicit his literary debts may, however, belie the possibility that he indulged in a degree of tactical omission regarding other sources of inspiration. The various excursions which Darío made into his own literary past served largely as a pretext to manipulate critical perception of his work. In the Historia de mis libros, where the sources of inspiration of Azul . . . were enumerated, Darío sought to emphasise his commitment to positive and wholesome spiritual values as if by way of a response to Valera's reproachful observation that Azul . . . might have been

> algo menos exclusivo y con más altos, puros y serenos ideales: algo más azul que el azul de su libro de usted; algo que tirase menos a lo verde y a lo negro
> (OC, I, 1741).

Thus the chapter of the Historia devoted to Azul . . . ends on a

note of self-justification:

> Si mi Azul . . . es una producción de arte puro, sin que tenga nada de docente ni de propósito moralizador, no es tampoco lucubrado de manera que cause la menor delectación morbosa . . . . Es una obra que contiene la flor de mi juventud, que exterioriza la íntima poesía de las primeras ilusiones y que está impregnada de amor al arte y amor al amor (OC, I, 203).

Darío's dismissal of the sensuality of Azul . . . as a momentary moral aberration brought about through the influence of certain books which he read during his youth comes suspiciously close to a recantation:

> Hay, sobre todo, juventud, un ansia de vida, un estremecimiento sensual, un relente pagano, a pesar de mi educación religiosa y profesar desde mi infancia la doctrina católica, apostólica, romana. Ciertas notas heterodoxas las explican ciertas lecturas (OC, I, 199).

Under these circumstances, the Nicaraguan may well have pondered the wisdom of acknowledging his debt to writers whose moral profile did not conform to that which he desired to present in Historia. Thus Dario may have been influenced by Baudelaire but, all too aware of the popular image of the Frenchman in Spain, chose not to publicise the fact. In the Historia, then, the Nicaraguan's testimony regarding influences may be accurate but incomplete.

3. Poemas en prosa

Just as critics have assumed a genealogical relationship to exist between Manual Machado's El mal poema and Baudelaire's 'city' poetry on the grounds that both deal with urban themes, so the short prose narratives of Azul . . . invite comparison with, among other sub-genera, Baudelaire's poèmes en prose. The comparativist is indeed encouraged to draw a parallel between the two, for in the Historia Darío applied the term 'poema en prosa' to 'El velo de la reina Mab' (OC, V, 652-56), 'La canción del oro (OC, V, 656-62) and

'A una estrella' (OC, V, 719-23).

The assumption of a generic connection between Baudelaire's prose poems and those of Darío is further supported by the fact that both writers conceived of the prose poems in broadly simmilar terms. In a letter to Arsène Houssaye, the author of the Petits poëmes en prose clarified the aspiration which led him to compose the novel creations of this volume:

> Quel est celui de nous qui n'a pas, dans ses jours d'ambition, rêvé le miracle d'une prose poétique, musicale sans rythme et sans rime, assez souple et assez heurtée pour s'adapter aux mouvements lyriques de l'âme, aux ondulations de la rêverie, aux soubresauts de la conscience? (OC, 146).

Darío placed a comparable emphasis on musicality of language when speaking of one of his 'poemas en prosa', 'El velo de la reina Mab', in the Historia:

> [Al escribir 'El velo . . .'] realicé por primera vez el poema en prosa. Más que en ninguna de mis tentativas, en ésta perseguí el ritmo y la sonoridad verbales, la transposición musical, hasta entonces . . . desconocida en la prosa castellana, pues las cadencias de algunos clásicos son, en sus desenvueltos períodos, otra cosa (OC, I, 200).

The Nicaraguan referred in similar terms to 'A una estrella', which he described as a 'canto pasional, romanza, poema en prosa, en la que la idea se une a la musicalidad de la palabra' (OC, I, 201).

In both of these definitions the stress placed upon musicality is but one aspect, albeit the most important, of a more fundamental desire to achieve in prose effects normally associated with verse. Baudelaire's prose poems display many of the qualities which are considered characteristic of poetry proper, and affinities of a similar order are to be detected in Darío's 'poemas en prosa'. These are to be distinguished from the other prose narratives of Azul . . . by virtue of abundant 'poetic' effects, the creation of which constitutes

the primary achievement of these pieces. 'A una estrella' resembles a rapturous prayer, 'La canción del oro', a litany, and in 'El velo de la reina Mab' each artist pronounces in turn a flowing soliloquoy. The 'poemas en prosa' also emulate poetry in certain aspects of their structure. Paragraphing and sentence length are at times arranged so as to dissolve the narrative emphasis on sequentiality of action and to correspond more closely to the strophal divisions of verse poetry. This creates a series of structurally autonomous units of language thereby facilitating unity of rhythm within each section of the poem. Internal punctuation is used to achieve rhythmic effects by breaking down sentences into balanced sequences of phrasal groups. This creates the impression of a number of lines of roughly equal syllabic length. Thus, in 'El velo de la reina Mab' we find the following sentence:

> Tú golpeas, hieres y domas el mármol, / y suena el golpe armónico como un verso, / y te adula la cigarra, amante del sol, / oculta entre los pámpanos de la viña virgen (OC, V, 653).

Elsewhere, the syntactic patterns which create a rhythmic quality are less symmetrical. The effect produced by, for example, long sentences comprising groups of repeated grammatical patterns - here of the reflexive form of the passive and of the preposition de - is, however, no less noticeable:

> Y se piensa en el porvenir como en la aurora, y se oyen risas que quitan la tristeza, y se bailan extrañas farándulas alrededor de un blanco Apolo, de un lindo paisaje, de un violín viejo, de un amarillento manuscrito (OC, V, 656 - My italics).

Rhythm is also expressed through the accumulation of individual words into flowing lists: 'paloma, estrella, nido, lirio' (OC, V, 655) or through juxtapositions enclosed within a skilful use of stress patterns: 'hay dasafíos de soberbia entre el ónix y el

pórfido, el ágata y el mármol' (OC, IV, 657). Other conventional poetic devices also serve this purpose. There is apostrophe, as in 'A una estrella': '¡Princesa del divino imperio azul, quién besará tus labios luminosos!' (OC, V, 719). There are also frequent repetitions, which function in much the same way as the accumulated phrases. In 'La canción del oro', the exhortation 'Cantemos el oro' is followed invariably by one of three formulas: a noun in apposition - 'Cantemos el oro, padre del pan' - a relative clause - 'Cantemos el oro, que cruza por el carnaval del mundo' - or an adjectival clause - 'Cantemos el oro, purificado por el fuego'. In 'A una estrella', three consecutive sentences begin with 'Me hablaste . . .', 'Me hablaste . . .' and 'Y me dijiste . . .'.

Broad resemblances of this kind, however, can hardly be considered to provide adequate grounds upon which to assume that a causal relation exists between Baudelaire's prose poetry and Darío's three 'poemas en prosa'. Where the presumed repositories of influence are the characteristics of a sub-genre, a systematic scheme of comparison based upon precise stylistic and formal criteria is essential. The elaboration and application of such a scheme, however, would on this occasion prove futile. The evidence against Baudelairian influence is not only the Nicaraguan's 'poemas en prosa' but indeed all the prose narratives of Azul . . . is sufficient to counter a hypothesis based on even the most detailed enumeration and rigorous comparative analysis of points of contact. To begin with, the value of Darío's use of the term 'poema en prosa' as evidence of a literary debt to Baudelaire is questionable. While it would not be unreasonable to assume that the Nicaraguan borrowed this term from the Frenchman, it is necessary to remember that he used it for the first time retrospectively, in the Historia,

some twenty years after the publication of Azul . . . . It is possible, therefore, that Darío adopted the designation 'poema en prosa' at a time when the prose narratives of Azul . . . were already in print and, indeed, had possibly been so for a number of years. At the time of writing his 'poemas en prosa' the Nicaraguan may not have been acquainted with Baudelaire's prose poetry or, if he was, its impact upon him may have proven insufficient to awaken a conscious sense of debt or antecedence.

Secondly, there are far more obvious and plausible sources of inspiration for the prose pieces of Azul . . . than Baudelaire's prose poems. On the one hand, their most likely generic relative is the conte parisien. Darío noted in 'Los colores del estandarte' that ' [En Azul . . . aparece] por primera vez en nuestro lengua el "cuento" parisiense' (OC, IV, 875). In the Historia, he remarked in respect of Mendès that '[a]lgunos de sus cuentos lírico-eróticos . . . fueron para mí una revelación' (OC, I, 199), and alluded elsewhere in the section devoted to Azul . . . to the influence of the contes of Armand Silvestre and Mezeroi. Darío used the term 'cuento parisiense' to describe 'El rubí', 'El palacio del sol', 'La ninfa' and 'El pájaro azul'. As far as sources other than the conte parisien are concerned, it would not be inappropriate at least to bear in mind the example of Bécquer's Leyendas, with which Darío was also familiar. On the other hand, Baudelaire figured nowhere among the number of influences in particular prose poems identified by Darío: Daudet in 'El rey burgués' and in 'La muerte de la emperatriz de la China'; Mendès ('el procedimiento es más o menos mendesiano' OC, I, 199), Hugo and Flaubert in 'El sátiro sordo'; Mendès once again, Armand Silvestre

and Mezeroi in 'La ninfa'; Zola in 'El fardo'; and Shakespeare in 'El velo de la reina Mab'.

Furthermore, comparison of the 'poemas en prosa' of Azul . . . with Baudelaire's poèmes en prose reveals not only similarities but also significant differences. To begin with, Darío's creations are all of a roughly comparable length, whereas Baudelaire's prose poems vary between approximately ninety words ('Le Miroir', OC, 176) and just less than 1,600 words ('Portraits de maîtresses', OC, 176-78). Secondly, the poèmes en prose display a far greater variety of functions than the prose pieces of Azul . . . . A number of the former resemble short stories, according emphasis to narrative or plot. These tend to be the longest of the prose poems, and include such ones as 'Le Joueur généreux' (OC, 169-70) and 'La Corde' (OC, 170-71). Others are allegorical fables, often describing an imaginary event in a fantastic setting, as in 'Les Dons des Fées' (OC, 160-61). Related to these are illustrative anecdotes, 'Un Plaisant' (OC, 149) for example, which tend to be the shortest of the poems. Finally, there are those prose poems which broach questions of aesthetics, such as 'Le Confiteor de l'Artiste' (OC, 149), 'Le Thyrse' (OC, 173), 'Les Foules' (OC, 155), 'Le Mauvais Vitrier' (OC, 151-52), 'Les Fenêtres' (OC, 174), and 'Enivrez-vous' (OC, 173-74). The prose pieces of Azul . . . , by way of contrast, are simply either tales, in which narrative predominates, or 'poemas en prosa', where the emphasis is on the creation of poetic qualities.

4. Significant similarities

Examination of the text of Azul . . . reveals some exceptions

to the rule that similarities with the work of Baudelaire are insufficiently precise to warrant protracted analysis. On several occasions, the evidence is such as to allow the possibility of influence to be entertained. The first of these concerns 'La canción del oro' (OC, V, 656-62), and involves a remark made by Juan Valera in his carta-prólogo to Azul . . .

> La canción del oro es . . . una letanía, sólo que es infernal en vez de ser célica. Es por el gusto de la letanía que Baudelaire compuso al demonio: pero, conviniendo ya en que La canción del oro es letanía, y letanía infernal, yo me complazco en sostener que es de las más poéticas, ricas y enérgicas que he leido (OC, I, 1740).

Darío's response to this observation suggests, however, that a parallel with Baudelaire's 'Les Litanies de Satan' (OC, 120), had not occurred to the Nicaraguan. He merely acknowledged that 'Valera la califica de letanía' (OC, I, 200) and made no mention of Baudelaire whatsoever. This declaration invites three alternative interpretations with respect to Baudelairian influence, each of which is equally plausible. The first is that no literary debt was incurred and that the resemblance between the two compositions to which Valera referred is purely incidental. The second is that an influence did occur, but unconsciously, so that Darío remained unaware of this fact both during and after writing 'La canción del oro'. The third is that for reasons explained above, the Nicaraguan chose deliberately to gloss over the similarity identified by Valera in order to avoid being associated with Baudelaire. In this case, his comments regarding 'La canción del oro' would provide no clue as to whether or not an influence took place. Whichever of these

explanations best describes the relation between 'La canción del oro' and 'Les Litanies de Satan', however, is something which cannot be determined. The evidence on this occasion, therefore, is not sufficient to support a definitive pronouncement regarding the presence or absence of influences.

A more substantial resemblance is to be encountered between 'El ideal' (OC, V, 708-709) and Baudelaire's 'A une passante' (OC, 101). The theme of both pieces is the fleeting experience of Beauty, incarnate in femal form. This notion has a clear Spanish antecedent in Bécquer and was a characteristic topos of post Romantic French poetry, particularly of the Décadence. There would, then, be little incentive to view this similarity other than as an epochal convention were it not for the significant parallel in thematic development which exists between both poems. The sequence and significance of the events described in 'El ideal' and 'A une passante' bear close comparison. The point de départ in each case is the moment when the poet-narrator is roused by the vision of a woman who awakes within him the responses associated with experience of Beauty (4). The female in question embodies a sublime majesty consonant with qualities inherent in the absolute principle of Baudelairian aesthetics. In 'El ideal' she is described as 'una torre de marfil, una flor mística'. She is compared to 'una estatua antigua'. The poet evokes 'la majestad de su belleza' and describes her manner as 'triunfante'. Baudelaire's poem follows similar coordinates:

> Longue, mince, en grand deuil, douleur majestueuse,
> Una femme passa, d'une main fastueuse
> Soulevant, balancant le feston et l'ourlet;

Agile et noble, avec sa jambe de statue

In both poems the enchanting quality discerned by the poet is concentrated in the woman's eyes. In 'El ideal' she is described as having 'un alma que asomaba a los ojos, ojos angelicales, todos ternura, todos cielo azul, todos enigma', while Baudelaire speaks of 'son oeil, ciel livide où germe l'ouragon', a gaze which irradiates '[l]a douceur qui fascine et le plaisir qui tue'. The impression given in both creations is that the woman's gaze owes some of its singular and fascinating intensity to her recognition of the poet's visual attentions, which border on indiscretion. The poet of 'A une passante' relates how 'Moi, je buvais, crispé comme un extravagant, / Dans son oeil . . . / . . . La douceur qui fascine et le plaisir qui tue'. In 'El ideal', the same point is made in a somewhat more straightforward fashion: 'Sintió que la besaba con las miradas y me castigó con la majestad de su belleza, y me vio como una reina y como una paloma'. The dualism inherent in both Darío's and Baudelaire's conception of Beauty is also in evidence at this point. Just as the eyes of the 'passante' irradiate '[l]a douceur qui fascine et la plaisir qui tue', so the ideal woman of Darío's brief prose piece gazes upon the poet, both with ultimate authority 'como una reina' and with submissiveness, 'como una paloma'.

In both 'El ideal and 'A une passante' the poignant encounter with le beau is shortlived. The woman passes by and is gone: 'Pero pasó arrebatadora, triunfante, como una visión que deslumbra'. Thus laments Darío, echoing Baudelaire's 'Un éclair . . . puis la nuit!'. The poet is left to ponder the significance of the fleeting experience, of the sensations which are receding rapidly

from his consciousness. The poet of 'El ideal' can retain no more than an ethereal recollection of the eyes which embodied the eternal principle which he adores: 'Mas de aquel rayo supremo y fatal sólo quedó en el fondo de mi cerebro rostro de mujer, un sueño azul', while Baudelaire phrases a rhetorical question which anticipates the fateful response uttered by Poe's immortal raven:

> . . . Fugitive beauté
> Dont le regard m'a fait soudainement renaître,
> Ne te verrai-je plus que dans l'éternité?
>
> Ailleurs, bien loin d'ici! trop tard! jamais peut-être!

The poet is left to muse wistfully on what it would have meant to possess the rare and exquisite woman in whose gaze demeanour and bearing la Beauté acquired form. ' [P]ensé en la promesa ansiada del amor hermoso', concludes the poet of 'El ideal', while the Baudelairian bard bids a regretful farewell to the fleeting object of his eternal admiration, 'O toi que j'eusse aimée, ô toi qui le savais!'.

One may conclude that the thematic parallel which exists between 'El ideal' and 'A une passante' manifests itself on two levels. On the denotative plane, both poems depict a fleeting encounter with a beautiful woman. This similarity extends as far as the particular elements of content of which this situation is composed, and also to the organisation of these elements. On the connotative level, both poems recreate an encounter with le beau. The experience of Beauty occurs unexpectedly, it is fleeting, and leaves whosoever is blessed by its visitation convinced of its value as the absolute principle of life and art and nostalgic for its return. Given similarities such as these it

would certainly be imprudent to discount the possibility of an influence. At the same time, however, it is difficult to present a convincing case for a literary debt. Although the points of contact are numerous, the kinds of formal rapport de fait which make for a high degree of resemblance, such as proximity of lexis and grammatical patterns or the recurrence of idiosynchratic stylistic devices, are on this occasion absent. The possibility of an explanation other than Baudelairian influence is thereby heightened. One is obliged to recall that the theme of fleeting Beauty personified in female form was a topos of the epoch in which Darío composed Azul . . . . Even if at the time the Nicaraguan was, as he claimed, not familiar with the work of the Symbolists and décadents, in which the theme was common, he would have encountered it possibly in the work of their French precursors and certainly in the Rimas y leyendas of Bécquer.

Under circumstances such as these, the effectiveness of the influence argument is considerably diminished. There can be little justification for attempting to prove influence on the basis of the evidence available, and the most reasonable course of action is to postulate what could be concluded if the thematic parallel in question did represent an influence. Thus it can be supposed that Baudelaire's poem could have acted as a catalyst to Darío's poetic examination of the theme of fleeting Beauty. Given that the Nicaraguan developed the theme without leaving traces of a precise debt to Baudelaire, it seems likely that 'A une passante' would simply have inspired him to articulate insights with which he was already well familiar.

III PROSAS PROFANAS

1. Sonatina

The devotion to French literature which Juan Valera ascribed to the author of Azul . . . is no less evident in Prosas profanas (1896). Darío was, indeed, to acknowledge his literary debt to France in the preface to this collection, in which he proclaimed that 'mi esposa es de mi tierra; mi querida es de París' (OC, V, 763). The influences were, however, well assimilated, and the Nicaraguan's own artistic personality imposed itself upon the poems of Prosas profanas as forcefully as it did in Azul . . ., erasing unequivocal evidence of sources. As a consequence, the occasions on which it is possible to speak confidently of precise, direct influences, are few and far between. As regards the possibility of a debt to Baudelaire, the comparativist is forced to rely upon the meagre charity of frequent but somewhat ambiguous rapports de fait. While it may not be possible to prove or disprove the existence of causal relations, however, there are two occasions on which a hypothesis of influence provides a basis for conclusions which are far from inconsequential.

The first of these instances concerns the celebrated 'Sonatina' (OC, V, 774). The idea that a connection exists between this delicate, melodious composition which draws heavily on fairy tale and lullaby and the solemn dirges of Les Fleurs du Mal may initially appear somewhat incongruous. Yet closer examination reveals not insignificant parallels with the poem entitled 'Spleen' which begins 'Je suis comme le roi d'un pays pluvieux' (OC, 85-88). To begin with, both poems feature a royal protagonist who remains the focus of attention throughout.

Other characters, with the exception of the fairy godmother in 'Sonatina' are confined to supporting roles. In both cases, the principal character personifies the sensibility and psychology of the poet. In 'Spleen', this representational function is quite explicit, for the poem opens with the phrase 'Je suis comme . . . '. In 'Sonatina', the princess-poet equivalence is not expressed overtly but the reader is not discouraged from interpreting the poem in terms of such an equivalence. Moreover, the image of the melancholy princess is unequivocally associated with the poet in another poem from the collection entitled 'El reino interior':

> -'¡Oh! ¿Qué hay en ti, alma mía?
> ¡Oh! ¿Qué hay en ti, mi pobre infanta misteriosa?
> (OC, V, 834).

In both 'Sonatina' and 'Spleen' the blue-blooded protagonists are victims of an all-pervading melancholy. The princess of Darío's poem 'está triste'. She sighs, no longer laughs, has grown pale and wan. The young king of 'Spleen' is overwhelmed by a sense of world-weary impotence. He is 'jeune et pourtant très-vieux', a 'jeune squelette' who has forgotten how to smile and is ennui. The opulence and regal finery which surrounds the young sovereigns provide no source of consolation. They remain immersed in their profound malaise, in spite of the infinite distractions at their disposal and the diligent attentiveness which the courtiers charged with their well-being lavish upon them. 'La princesa no siente', and, as for the prince of 'Spleen', ' [r]ien ne peut l'égayer'. It is in the expression of this notion that 'Sonatina' most closely echoes 'Spleen'. The

resemblance can be seen both on the level of content - falcons and jesters are mentioned in each poem - and on a stylistic plane, in a rhythm of insistent negation:

> Ya no quiere el palacio, ni la rueca de plata,
> ni el halcón encantado, ni el bufón escarlata,
> ni los cisnes unánimes en el lago de azur.

These lines recall the following from 'Spleen':

> Rien ne peut l'égayer, ni gibier, ni faucon,
> Ni son peuple mourant en face du balcon.

The jester, who appears once more in 'Sonatina' - 'vestido de escarlata pirueta el bufón' -, is also present, and equally ineffectual in 'Spleen':

> Du bouffon favori la grotesque ballade
> Ne distrait plus le front de ce cruel malade.

Within this broad framework of similarity, however, certain differences are to be discerned. They involve, on a denotative level, the nature of the spiritual affliction to which the young sovereigns have succumbed. To begin with, the malaise of the princess of 'Sonatina' lacks the morbid overtones and Decadent perversity of the young monarch's Spleen. It is more akin to wistful teenage melancholy, a comparison which Darío himself sustained in the Historia de mis libros:

> Es que [Sonatina] contiene el sueño cordial de toda adolescente, de toda mujer que aguarda el instante amoroso. Es el deseo íntimo, la melancolía ansiosa, y es, por fin, la esperanza (OC, I, 208).

Secondly, the Spleen of Baudelaire's 'jeune squelette' eludes diagnosis and its origins cannot be traced, whereas the princess of 'Sonatina' is aware of the nature of her predicament. She feels trapped by circumstance and emotionally unfulfilled, and considers the experience of love to hold the key to her spiritual liberation. Thirdly, the malaise of the young king of 'Spleen' is infinite and incurable, while for the princess of 'Sonatina' there exists not only the possibility but, indeed, the promise of recovery and consolation. The affliction which poisons the soul of Baudelaire's protagonist derives from the obscure 'élément corrompu', which even his alchemists, whose powers are such that they can perform miraculous feats to replenish the royal coffers, are unable to extirpate. In 'Sonatina', by way of contrast, the princess is interrupted in her melancholy fantasies by the arrival of her fairy godmother who announces that the time of waiting and longing for fulfilment will soon be at an end. The 'feliz caballero' who will make her dreams come true is at hand.

The significance of these differences becomes apparent when the aspects concerned are interpreted in light of their connotative meaning, as elements in a figurative representation of the sensibility of the poet. The spiritual afflictions which distress the young king and the princess symbolise the forms of malaise experienced by Baudelaire and Darío. For the former, the condition is inescapable and incurable. No life exists beyond Spleen. It is permanent, a constant of the poet's psyche, whence the state of abject, arid resignation in which the young king of 'Spleen' lives. The melancholy which pervades 'Sonatina', on the contrary, derives from the absence rather than the impossibility of a spiritual solution or cure. The sufferings of the

princess are those of a soul with an unrequited yearning for spiritual completion, not one to which the possibility of such an achievement has been denied. Her wistful fantasies reflect the desire to transcend the confines of worldly, material existence (the palace, although magnificent, is a 'jaula') and to attain spiritual fulfilment on a higher plane of consciousness. The desire to break free of earthly bonds is conveyed through images suggesting flight ('golondrina', 'mariposa', 'libélula', 'hipsipila', 'alas ligeras'), while the higher dimension of consciousness is symbolised by the empyrean sphere ('el cielo', 'el sol') and the mystical 'beyond' of exotic lands ('la tierra donde un príncipe existe'). The sense of plenitude to which the princess-poet aspires is conveyed through imagery drawn from a variety of semantic domains. It includes the experience of love (the 'príncipe'), purity ('los lirios'), and dazzling light ('la escala luminosa', 'más brillante que el alba'). The preoccupation with spiritual rebirth is implicit in the traditional symbols of new beginnings and eternal renovation ('el cielo del Oriente', 'el alba', 'abril') and in the notion of metamorphosis into new existence ('Oh, quién fuera hipsipila que dejó la crisálida'). The motivation which gives rise to this sense of troubled yearning is, as ever, 'le goût de l'infini':

> La princesa persigue por el cielo del Oriente
> la libélula vaga de una vaga ilusión.

The sense of malaise depicted in 'Sonatina', then, is less a representation of Spleen than of the absence of Idéal. This diagnosis of the spiritual affliction of the artist is, moreover, developed to the point where it stands in opposition to that

elaborated in 'Spleen'. In Darío's poem, spiritual rebirth is presented as a real possibility. The fairy godmother intervenes to dispel the princess's melancholy with reassurances that her wishes will be granted. If the fairy godmother is a force of consolation, the 'feliz caballero' whose arrival she heralds, represents a panacea to existential disquiet. He not only brings the gift of spiritual fulfilment but also has the power to conquer death. Thus 'Sonatina' ends on an optimistic note, as vital confidence is restored.

Precisely what the fairy godmother and the knight of happiness are intended to signify, if indeed they do have a determinate representative function, is a matter for conjecture. They might stand for hope or idealism, for faith, for Beauty, inspiration, or art as a means of existential consolation. They may serve a symbolic function which cannot be expressed in terms of a precise equivalence between comparandum and comparatum. A variety of interpretations may, then, be advanced. This matter is, however, not the concern of the present enquiry. What is significant in respect of the relation between 'Sonatina' and 'Spleen' is the fundamental disparity in the respective poets' treatment of the theme of malaise.

The similarities which exist between 'Sonatina' and 'Spleen' resemble those existing between 'El ideal' in Azul . . . and 'A une passante' inasmuch as the resemblance, although substantial, is not sufficiently precise to permit a convincing case for influence to be formulated. Once again, it becomes more plausible to presuppose influence for the sake of argument and state what could be concluded if this were the case, than to attempt to prove that a literary debt had been incurred. The question of Baudel-

airian influence must, then, remain unresolved. Nevertheless, on this occasion the results of speculation which, through lack of evidence, must replace the influence argument are as intriguing and thought-provoking as the conclusive demonstration of literary debt is intellectually satisfying. If it is assumed that 'Sonatina' was inspired by 'Spleen', it follows that Darío's poem constitutes an intentional rewriting of the Baudelairian source. The situation is basically the same but the outcome is reversed. The constitutional malaise of 'Spleen' is transformed in 'Sonatina' into a temporary state of spiritual incompletion. Existential melancholy is depicted as an aberration which can be conquered and overcome, as opposed to a constant of the poet's psyche.

The motives for such a rewriting can be traced to Darío's cult of faith, hope and vital optimism, and his consequent disapproval of negative attitudes, particularly when these were expressed through art. Had 'Sonatina' been inspired by 'Spleen', then, the debt would indicate that Darío used his poetry as he used his critical writings, as a vehicle for the affirmation of positive spiritual attitudes and as a bastion against the mal du siècle.

2. The history of a misinterpretation

The title of 'El cisne' (OC, V, 813) at once brings to mind Baudelaire's 'Le Cygne' (OC, 97) and so invites one to explore the poem's verses for echoes of the Frenchman's composition. None, however, are to be found. The swan appears to owe more to Wagner than to Baudelaire, while a reference to 'la espada de Argantir' [sic] in the second quatrain betrays the influence of Leconte de Lisle (5). The title, then, would appear to lay a false trail were it not for the singular nature of the dedicatoria which is

printed below it. 'A Ch. Del Gouffre' is readily construed as an allusion to Baudelaire. The 'Ch.' is clearly an abbreviated form of 'Charles'. The surname, which appears (at least to a native anglophone with a knowledge of French and Spanish) to involve a mixture of Castilian ('Del') and French ('Gouffre'), may be interpreted as an epithet confected by the Spanish-speaking Darío to designate the poet haunted by vertiginous depths of the abîme and the gouffre.

'El cisne', then, may embody a debt to Baudelaire which does not reveal itself in the form of detectable similarities. If this is the case, wherein lies the point or points of contact between Darío's poem and 'Le Cygne', presuming, of course, that the latter is the source of inspiration. A spirited attempt to answer this question has been made by Andrew Bush in an article entitled '"Le Cygne" or "El cisne": The History of a Misreading' (6). Here, Bush adopts the view expounded by Harold Bloom that influence may take the form of a misreading. This means that the receiver of the influence reinterprets the source from which he draws his inspiration. In his analysis, the critic ignores the more obvious references to Wagner. Taking the image of the swan and the classical references in both poems as evidence of the psychology of each poet, he argues that 'El cisne' depicts triumph over the sense of existential incompletion which Baudelaire expressed in 'Le Cygne' through the theme of spiritual exile.

Bush's interpretation of 'El cisne' is stimulating. To all intents and purposes his article furnishes a highly perceptive account of an inter-textual relation to which a less capable critic could easily have remained oblivious. Yet the validity

of Bush's contention rests entirely on the reality of Baudelaire's influence, which the critic presumes to be true when he remarks that 'El cisne' is dedicated 'to none other than "Charles Del Gouffre"'. But what if 'Ch. Del Gouffre' were not Baudelaire?

In the chapter devoted to Prosas profanas in the Historia de mis libros, Darío divulged that '[e]n Buenos Aires, e iniciado en los secretos wagnerianos por un músico y escritor belga, M. Charles del Gouffré, rimé el soneto de "El cisne"' (OC, I, 210). Bush's assumption of Baudelairian influence would therefore appear to be erroneous. His interpretation rests on a false premise and is therefore invalid, at least inasmuch as the reality of influence is a necessary condition for its validity (7). Darío's pronouncement in the Historia endorses the view that the image of the swan in 'El cisne' owes its existence to the influence of Wagner, not Baudelaire.

This presupposes, of course, that Darío was completely honest in what he wrote in the Historia. It has been suggested above that the Nicaraguan had good reason not to wish to be associated with Baudelaire. One cannot, therefore, entirely discount the possibility that the dedication to 'Ch. Del Gouffre' and the reference in the Historia to 'M. Charles del Gouffre', represent acknowledgements of a debt to Baudelaire which were deliberately disguised by the Nicaraguan in order to avoid the possible consequences of such an admission. The names 'Charles del Gouffre' or 'Charles Del Gouffre' are not recorded in even the most comprehensive dictionaries of biography or of the arts (8). Who then is to say, without the evidence of protracted enquiry, that the 'Charles del Gouffre' who initiated Darío into the secrets of Wagner's art in Buenos Aires was not in reality a fictitious

entity, a personification of Baudelaire's enlightening essay 'Richard Wagner et Tannhäuser à Paris' (OC, 510-26) which was published in the Revue européenne in 1861 under the title of 'Richard Wagner' and which the Nicaraguan may have read while in the capital of the Argentine. Darío's description of 'Charles del Gouffré' as a 'músico y escritor belga' may be a compound fiction drawing on various aspects of Baudelaire's life: his literary vocation, his production as an untutored but perceptive music critic and his association with Belgium.

The question of whether or not 'El cisne' embodies a debt to Baudelaire therefore remains unanswered for the present. Enquiry devoted to the elucidation of Baudelaire's influence in Darío alone would no doubt seek to develop this issue beyond the point at which a broad survey of the present kind achieves its objective.

IV CANTOS DE VIDA Y ESPERANZA

The title of Cantos de vida y esperanza (1906) is tinged with a certain irony, for there are clear indications in this collection of poems that Darío's vitalistic optimism was waning. When the Cantos are compared with Azul . . . and Prosas profanas, a marked increase is to be discerned in the number of poems which express spiritual unease and a sense of growing disillusion. Darío himself acknowledged as much in the chapter of the Historia de mis libros which is devoted to the Cantos:

> El título - 'Cantos de vida y esperanza' -, si corresponde en gran parte a lo contenido en el volumen, no se compadece con algunas notas de desaliento, de duda, o de temor a lo desconocido, al más allá (OC, I, 217).

A polarisation is to be observed in the collection between the proclamation of hope, faith and optimism on one hand, and the expression of doubt, disillusion and spiritual disquiet on the other.

It is in this context that the only unequivocal evidence of Baudelaire's influence upon Darío is to be found. It occurs in the poem appropriately entitled 'No obstante':

¡Oh, terremoto mental!
Yo sentí un día en mi cráneo
como el caer subitáneo
de una Babel de cristal.

De Pascal miré el abismo,
y vi lo que pudo ver
cuando sintió Baudelaire
'el ala del idiotismo'.

Hay, no obstante, que ser fuerte:
pasar todo precipicio
y ser vencedor del Vicio,
de la Locura y la Muerte.
(OC, V, 908).

The quotation in the final line of the second stanza translates a phrase from a passage in Baudelaire's Journaux intimes:

> Au moral comme au physique, j'ai toujours eu la sensation du gouffre, non seulement du gouffre du sommeil, mais du gouffre de l'action, du rêve, du souvenir, du désir, du regret, du remords, du beau, du nombre, etc.
> J'ai cultivé mon hystérie avec jouissance et terreur. Maintenant j'ai toujours le vertige, et aujourd'hui 23 janvier 1862, j'ai subi un singulier avertissement, j'ai senti passer sur moi le vent de l'aile de l'imbécilité (OC, 640).

Further examination of the second stanza of 'No obstante' reveals what is quite possibly another debt to Baudelaire. The reference to Pascal's abyss in the first line of the verse recalls the first line of Baudelaire's 'Le Gouffre' (OC, 88): 'Pascal avait son gouffre, avec lui se mouvant'. The likelihood of an influence here is increased by the fact that the subject matter of 'Le Gouffre' readily invites comparison with the passage from the Journaux intimes. The similarity between the two texts renders them easily associable, and could have been detected without difficulty by a perceptive reader who, like Darío, was acquainted with both the poems and the Journaux intimes. The central point of contact is the first stanza of 'Le Gouffre', which is a virtual paraphrase of the Frenchman's fusée:

> -Hélas! tout est abîme, - action, désir, rêve,
> Parole! et sur mon poil qui tout droit se relève
> Mainte fois de la Peur je sens passer le vent.

The resemblance between the two texts is probably more than coincidental, for they appear to have been written at approximately the same time. 'Le Gouffre' appeared in L'Artiste on 1 March, 1862, only five weeks after the French poet recorded his premonition of imbecility and his obsessive 'sensation du gouffre' in the cahier that was to be published subsequently as Fusées.

That Darío should have thought of Baudelaire when formulating the theme of 'No obstante' is not unusual; nor is it surprising that the Nicaraguan should have chosen to include a reference to the Frenchman in his composition. To begin with, the mental cataclysm evoked in the first stanza bears more than a passing resemblance to the psychological predicament described

by the Frenchman in his Journaux intimes. Furthermore, 'No obstante' is a call for moral fortitude in the face of even the most dire of spiritual crises; to judge from the image of Baudelaire presented in Darío's critical writings, the Nicaraguan felt that there were few victims of the mal du siècle capable of symbolising the force of such a crisis more poignantly than the author of Les Fleurs du Mal. Darío, partly in accordance with popular myth, considered Baudelaire to be the poète maudit par excellence. He therefore would have deemed an allusion to the Frenchman to be a most apposite and effective means of conveying the impact of negative insight or spiritual trauma upon the consciousness and, by implication, the effort of moral resistence required to maintain faith and hope in the face of these destructive forces.

The use made of Baudelairian sources by Darío in 'No obstante', then, represents the phenomenon known by comparativists as 'non-influence' (9). This occurs when the recipient of an influence, instead of broadly accepting the premise upon which the source of that influence rests, adopts an attitude which implies the opposite of that which he considers the source to embody. 'No obstante' preaches resistence at all cost to the forces to which Baudelaire had fallen victim; it advocates rejection, not acceptance, of negative insight. By virtue of this, the influence of Baudelaire which in 'No obstante' is an indisputable reality, takes the same form as that which could be said to manifest itself in 'Sonatina' (Prosas profanas) if this poem had been inspired by 'Spleen'. The fact that Baudelaire's influence actually took this form in the poem from the Cantos reinforces the plausibility of the hypothesis formulated in respect of 'Sonatina', even if

ultimately the influence of Baudelaire in this poem cannot be proven.

V CONCLUSION

It is widely supposed by critics, possibly because of Darío's reputation as a widely read Francophile, that the creative works which the Nicaraguan produced in the course of his association with Spanish *modernismo* manifest the influence of Baudelaire to a significant degree. This view is unjustified, inasmuch as there is little evidence upon which to base such an assumption. This is not to suggest, of course, that Darío's debt to the French poet was greater than the evidence suggests. In the first place, the range of Baudelaire's work with which the Nicaraguan was familiar is exceptionally extensive. Secondly, in spite of the reservations which he expressed in respect of the Frenchman's *malaise*, Darío clearly partook of the aesthetic tradition for the genesis of which Baudelaire was largely responsible.

Yet ultimately it remains impossible to determine with any degree of precision the extent to which Darío received the influence of Baudelaire. On the one hand, there is a lack of external evidence of the kind which may reveal the precise source of a vague similarity, uncover a disguised influence or identify a debt which never reached the level of expression in the text. There is good reason to believe that the absence of such evidence was intentional, given the likelihood that Darío would have been unwilling to admit a literary debt to Baudelaire. On the other hand, it is probable that textual evidence of the kind which provides a *point de départ* for the influence argument is relatively infrequent in the collections examined above. As Valera indicated

in respect of Azul . . . , the strength of Darío's creative imagination was such that the form of the sources which he assimilated would almost invariably have been modified before they were reflected in his work as influences. A less gifted and original poet would have incorporated sources into his work in a less digested and, therefore, more recognisable form. As a consequence, the degree of resemblance displayed by the similarities encountered in the Nicaraguan's work is rarely sufficient to support more than the most tentative of hypotheses. The only exception to this rule is 'No obstante'.

Nevertheless, the single piece of indisputable evidence of Darío's debt to Baudelaire tells an interesting story. It reveals the extent to which the Nicaraguan's susceptibility to Baudelairian influence was determined by the image which he held of the French poet; that the attitude of censure apparent in Darío's critical reaction to Baudelaire is also present in the Nicaraguan's creative work. The Frenchman is ushered briefly on to the scene of the Cantos in the stock role in which Darío habitually cast him: the victim of an existential impasse who had failed to discover the secret of spiritual regeneration. This corresponds to a pattern which is to be discerned elsewhere in the three texts examined above, namely, a coincidence between the presence of elements which recall Baudelairian sources and the theme of faith and hope affirmed in the face of spiritual disquiet.

NOTES

1. See Pedro Salinas, La poesía de Rubén Darío (Buenos Aires: Losada 1948), p. 263 and Octavio Paz, Los hijos del limo (Barcelona: Seix Barral 1974), pp. 128-130.

2. For Darío as for Baudelaire, the poet was set apart from other mortals by a superior sensibility, which gave access to the higher reality of Ideal ('La ninfa', 'El rey burgués', 'El pájaro azul'). The poet's absolute principle is Beauty, the quest for which may lead to martyrdom ('El velo de la reina Mab', 'El pájaro azul'). His mission thereby acquires a quasi-mystical character, and his consciousness is illuminated by the spark of the divine ('El rey burgués'). The poet, however, is also a human being and must live as other mortals, in spiritual exile ('La canción del oro'). Yet, spiritually superior to those who surround him, his aspirations are distinct to those of the materialistic masses ('El rey burgués'). As a consequence, the poet is often victimised or abused by others ('El rey burgués', 'El velo de la reina Mab', 'La ninfa'). His deadliest enemies include the materialistic bourgeois ('El rey burgués') and woman ('La ninfa'). His downfall is his incapacity for common sense, pragmatic thinking and practical affairs, his guilelessness ('El rey burgués'). His only defence is the conviction that he is spiritually superior to those who surround him. Just as he is mocked and reviled, so he also dispenses scorn against the materialists and the philistines ('El rey burgués', 'La ninfa').

3. Another possible explanation of the facts is that Darío underwent an influence as a result of formative reading experiences but remained unaware of the effect which such experiences had had upon his creative intelligence. It is, of course, quite impossible to study influences of this order without the help of the author's own testimony, which cannot by definition exist where the subject under investigation is unaware that he has incurred a literary debt. Under these circumstances, the study of influences ceases to be feasible, and enquiry must be redefined as an examination of conventions or traditions.

4. The woman described in 'El ideal' also resembles the female personification of Beauty in Baudelaire's 'La Beauté' (OC, 53) and 'Hymne à la Beauté' (OC, 54). Like the Frenchman's incarnation of the absolute principle, she is implacable, enigmatic and emanates a sense of power over life itself. As such, she represents the point where life and art fuse. She is 'una torre de marfil' and 'una flor mística', the latter image recalling a translation of the title of Gustave Moreau's painting Fleur Mystique (c. 1875).

5. This is a translation of the title of 'L'Epée d'Angantyr', (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, no date), pp. 73-76.

6. '"Le cygne" or "El cisne": The History of a Misreading', Comparative Literature Studies, 17 (1980), pp. 418-28.

7. The essence of the interpretation advanced by Bush remains a valid account of different responses by the poets to the question of existential malaise provided that the matter of influence is left to one side and 'Le Cygne' and 'El cisne' are seen merely as different approaches to the same theme.

8. I am indebted to the staff of the Belgian Embassy, London, who most kindly verified that no record existed in standard biographical reference works to a 'Charles Del Gouffre' or 'Charles del Gouffré'.

9. For a definition of this concept see Ulrich Weisstein, 'Influences and Parallels: The Place and Function of Analogy Studies in Comparative Literature' in Teilname and Spiegelung: Festschrift für Horst Rüdiger, edited by Beda Alleman et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), pp. 593-609.

C H A P T E R T H R E E

'Loca y febrilmente, como estudiante en junio, lee por cima a los poetas franceses e italianos, que no entiende del todo; festeja puerilmente la adquisición de un tomo de Baudelaire'

Rafael Cansinos-Assens, La nueva literatura, 2 vols (Madrid: Sáenz Calleja, 1917), I, p. 130.

I. THE LIKELIHOOD OF INFLUENCE

1. Modernismo personified

Francisco Villaespesa (1877-1936) is one of the few poets to whom the epithet modernista may be applied without fear of contradiction. Of the six poets examined in the present study, Villaespesa is arguably the most genuine representative of Spanish modernismo, in the sense that his work, in particular the collection entitled La copa del rey de Thule (1900), embodies the spirit of the movement more than that of any other modernista. If Darío was the acknowledged leader of modernismo in Spain, Villaespesa was indisputably its indigenous standard-bearer and, in many senses, its personification; although he may have owed his status within the group of progressive writers who gathered about Darío in Madrid around the turn of the century, more to his personal dynamism and unfailing enthusiasm - his 'personalidad arrolladora' (1) - than to the quality of his literary gifts and his poetical production. In 1936 Juan Ramón Jiménez formulated what is surely one of the most comprehensive assessments of Villaespesa's place in Spanish modernismo:

> El fue, como son hoy en lo suyo tantos que pasan miopes por la poesía, el modernista que no se dio nunca cuenta de lo que era el modernismo ni de lo que no era, de lo que no podía ser o podía ser; y, por tanto, fue el único de nosotros que siguió siendo modernista hasta el fin. No podía ser tampoco otra cosa . . . No era posible que pensara de otro modo, porque él era su modernismo en persona, y cosa, como un neblí es un neblí, un atrio es un atrio, una pandereta una pandereta. El modernismo fue en él naturaleza y desgracia; y su fidelidad al modernismo, su razón de ser, la fidelidad a su ser (2).

The question of Baudelaire's influence upon Villaespesa has

never become the subject of critical investigation. It has hardly ever been mentioned even in passing, and has certainly not generated generally-held suppositions of the kind which exist in respect of Darío's debt to the French poet. Documentary evidence may, then, be expected to yield little in the way of material for study, inasmuch as a general lack of interest in a potentially critical issue reflects that little of significance is to be discovered. Nevertheless, the aim of the present study is not to concentrate solely upon those cases where there is abundant evidence of Baudelairian influence, but to test a myth regarding _modernismo_'s debt to the French poet. Because this myth exists, because _modernismo_ is generally considered to be a French-inspired movement, and because Villaespesa is a major figure of Spanish _modernismo_, the poet of _La copa del rey de Thule_ qualifies for examination alongside Reina, Darío, the brothers Machado and Juan Ramón Jiménez.

Existing critical discussion of Villaespesa has tended to adopt a focus which is markedly biographical in character, possibly because this ebullient _andaluz_ was more of a literary personality than a great poet. There is little evidence anywhere of a serious attempt at systematic critical study of his considerable poetical output. By avoiding the formidable and, in the case of Villaespesa, possibly tiresome task of extensive textual investigation, the poet's commentators have tended to divulge information that might not otherwise have been considered central to the critical purpose. Material of this kind includes evidence regarding Villaespesa's principle sources of inspiration and of his reading habits. Such information provides a useful point

of reference from which to formulate an impression of how susceptible Villaespesa was likely to have been to Baudelairian influence and to identify the factors which would have conditioned the extent of such an influence upon him.

2. French influence

There is little evidence upon which to formulate a clear idea of Villaespesa's knowledge of the works of Baudelaire. It is known, for example, that at the turn of the year 1898, when Villaespesa was visiting Almería, he met Charles Maurras, from whom 'recibió seguramente las primeras noticias de primera mano sobre parnasianos y simbolistas' (3). It is also known that when Rubén Darío departed from Madrid for Paris in April 1900, he left his books, which it is likely included works by Baudelaire, in the possession of Villaespesa (4). While Rafael Cansinos Assens records in the first volume of La nueva literatura (Madrid [1917]) the occasion on which Villaespesa 'festeja puerilmente la adquisición de un tomo de Baudelaire' (p. 130). It is not clear, however, whether Baudelaire was among the poets of whom Maurras spoke to Villaespesa, or whether while the Spaniard kept Darío's books he took advantage of the opportunity to read any works by Baudelaire which may have figured among them. Neither can it be established which of the Frenchman's works he acquired, according to Cansinas-Assens, when he acquired it, or whether after his frenzied delight had subsided, he bothered to read it.

Nevertheless, it seems certain that Villaespesa had some knowledge of the works of Baudelaire. The impact of this knowledge upon the Spaniard, however, remains to be deduced,

as does the question of whether or not it resulted in an influence? In his extensive introduction to the most recent edition of Villaespesa's Poesías completas (Madrid 1954), Federico Mendizábal seeks in no uncertain terms to disassociate the Andalusian poet from any suggestion of Baudelairian influence:

> Por culpa de los poetas franceses, el Modernismo fue muy mal recibido. Baudelaire, con Las flores del mal, mereció que su obra se calificase como 'estética de lo monstruoso', 'maldición del arte', 'lógica del absurdo' y 'aberración insana'. Paul Verlaine quedó más prudente, modernizando sólo moldes formales, sin llegar a las morbosidades y blasfemias con que Baudelaire removía todo el pensamiento. . . . Mas Villaespesa, cristiano y español tanto como poeta, fijó 'nuestro modernismo', toda vez que fue sincero y, al serlo, salían a la superficie los valores tradicionales que germinaban en su alma y en su mente. Nuestro modernismo, que se cifra en Villaespesa, no es morboso, ni es americano ni francés. Aspira lo conveniente de un parnasianismo adepto a la métrica de Castilla para la forma; y en el fondo vibra, late con todas sus atávicas grandezas, el caballero español con inminencias románticas muy marcadas (PC, I, cxv).

This is clearly far from being an objective, dispassionate assessment of the situation. On the one hand, Mendizábal's motives are patriotic rather than literary. The partiality of his judgement resides in his desire to define the literature of the Patria against accusations of unoriginality:

> Los que se dicen críticos, en general, tienen las censurables tendencias a ver en nuestros escritores influencias extranjeras, cuando sucede lo contrario; que los plagiados somos nosotros, y, según ellos, la literatura española es un conjunto de imitación. Todo para menguar el valor de los nuestros. Sin embargo, la verdad es que cada movimiento universal adquiere, al pasar los Pirineos, personalidad genuinamente nuestra: caballerosidad y fe (5).

On the other hand, the critic's assessment is coloured by his

unqualified, and consequently uncritical admiration of the poet, which leads him to exaggerate Villaespesa's standing and the importance of his poetic achievement: 'Los artífices [del modernismo europeo] se llaman D'Annunzio, Mallarmé, Villaespesa' (PC, I, cxv).

In spite of Mendizábal's obvious distortion of the facts, his denial that Villaespesa received the influence of Baudelaire or other French poets who are generally considered to be precursors of modernismo represents a view which may not be without foundation. Juan Ramón Jiménez implied that Villaespesa showed little interest in the poets of the Symbolist-décadence when he recalled that on his return to Spain from France in 1901, ' [m]enos Villaespesa, todo había cambiado en aquellos años. Ahora rejían [sic] los Simbolistas franceses y Góngora' (6). Indeed, it is not unreasonable to assume that Villaespesa's relative lack of receptivity extended to all post-Romantic French literature. His enthusiasm seems to have been confined to the Romantics, and in particular to Hugo and de Musset. Villaespesa's admiration for the former began at an early stage. In Francisco Villaespesa y su primera obra poética (Granada 1974), Antonio Sánchez Trigueros refers to a meeting between Villaespesa and Bernardo González de Candamo after the publication of Luchas (1899) on which occasion, the latter recalled '[h]ablamos de todo, de maestros y de admiraciones; de Hugo y de Bécquer' (p. 90). This critic also records that in 1899 in a letter to Sánchez Rodríguez, Villaespesa declared 'No busque más fuentes de inspiración que la de sus propios afectos' (p. 63). This pronouncement is reminiscent of de Musset's 'Frappe-toi le coeur, c'est là le

génie', and Sánchez Trigueros attributes Villaespesa's adherence to this poetic to, among other factors, 'su desconocimiento entonces de la última poesía francesa'. Villaespesa's admiration for these Romantic poets persisted well into the twentieth century. Some time between 1911 and 1913 he translated Hugo's Hernani. Between 1913 and 1914 he announced his intention to translate four of de Musset's plays, including Lorenzaccio, but this project never came to fruition (7).

The evidence regarding Villaespesa's relative lack of interest in French literature contradicts G. G. Brown's assertion that the Spaniard's poetry

> demonstrates more clearly than that of his greater contemporaries its direct debt to France. Luis Cernuda rightly calls Villaespesa 'el puente por donde el modernismo pasa a una nueva generación de escritores', and it is a bridge built out of French materials (8).

It is true that certain features are to be discerned in Villaespesa's poetry which are also associated with the work of the French Symbolists and décadents. Yet it is questionable whether the presence of these elements is the result of direct influence. Brown bases his contention on the fact that 'Darío's "visiones de países lejanos o imposibles", his princesses and centaurs, rarely appear. Instead we have melancholy mood landscapes . . . '. Although the critic is justified in supposing the melancholy paysage d'âme to be a characteristic feature of French Symbolist poetry, there is little reason to assume that the latter constituted the only source in which this element in Villaespesa's work could have originated.

3. The sources of Villaespesa

Where, then, did Villaespesa turn for inspiration if not to post-Romantic French literature? Federico Mendizábal identifies three principle sources of influence:

> Con relación a las influencias literarias, inevitables en principio para todo poeta, no le dominan. Villaespesa y Rubén [Darío] acaso se semejan por la musicalidad, pero sin adentrarse ninguno recíprocamente por el estilo peculiar del otro. Con Salvador Rueda puede tener la semejanza del colorido y, mejor dicho, la manera de sentir ambos: andaluza; con lo que quiere decirse pasional y para nada indiferente o fría. De Zorrilla tiene lo mismo que Zorrilla de Lope: la construcción española, neta; la grandeza y el nervio raciales; pero Villaespesa le supera (PC, I, cxxvi).

A far more comprehensive enumeration is to be found in Juan Ramón Jiménez's 'Recuerdo al primer Villaespesa'. Here, Jiménez stated that of the various currents of influence which converged in Spanish modernismo, those which were most apparent in Villaespesa were

> parnasiana a través de Reina y Rueda, . . . italiana a través de Orts Ramos, portuguesa y americana directas; d'Annunzio adivinado, leídos de prisa Julián del Casal, Gutiérrez Nájera, Díaz Mirón, Lugones y Eugenio de Castro. Yo creo que Julián del Casal, Rueda, Díaz Mirón y Eugenio de Castro fueron verdadera fuente de Villaespesa, con una mano de Rubén Darío, bárniz sólo . . . Villaespesa devoraba la literatura hispanoamericano, prosa y verso. No sé de dónde sacaba los libros. Es verdad que mantenía correspondencia con todos los poetas y prosistas hispanoamericanos, modernistas o no, porque para él lo de hispanoamericano era ya una garantía. Libros que entonces reputábamos joyas misteriosas y que en realidad eran y son libros de valor, unos más y otros menos, los tenía él, sólo él; Ritos, de Guillermo Valencia, Castalia Bárbara, de Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, Cuentos de color, de Manuel Díaz Rodríguez, Los crepúsculos del jardín, de Leopoldo Lugones, Perlas negras, de Amado Nervo. Y tenía, además de los libros, varios críticos para

> su uso particular, uno italiano, otro portugués, dos o tres americanos, todos de nombres variantes; uno español, Isaac Muñoz Llorente, 'el crítico más grande del mundo' (9).

One striking feature of this list is the number of sources through which Villaespesa might have received the indirect influence of Baudelaire and other French writers. Generally speaking, the South American modernistas had, at least in the years preceding the turn of the century when peninsular modernismo was still an emergent phenomenon, a far more extensive knowledge of post-Romantic French literature and were far better informed regarding developments in the avant garde of European literature than most of their Spanish counterparts. The work of Reina contributed to the diffusion of the image of Baudelaire in Spain, even though little by way of presence of the French poet is to be found outside 'A un poeta' and 'Don Juan en los infiernos' in La vida inquieta. To a large extent, then, any influence of Baudelaire in the work of Villaespesa may have been incidental, indirect and, so, unconscious. Within the framework of the present study, however, the emphasis which must necessarily be placed on elucidating the real debt of the modernistas to Baudelaire, renders the notion of indirect influence meaningless. The idea that a literary debt can be incurred at second hand becomes a contradiction in terms. One might of course argue that an indirect influence at least indicates a potential on the part of the recipient to receive that influence directly. To follow this line of reasoning is, however, to ignore the factors which on the one hand precluded the possibility of direct influence in the first place and, on the other, determine the

value of the sources of indirect influence as sources of inspiration in their own right. The likelihood that any 'Baudelairian' traits in Villaespesa's work represent the influence of writers other than Baudelaire, then, causes the balance of possibilities to swing towards improbability that the Frenchman exerted a direct influence upon the Spaniard. In addition to this factor, it is necessary to recall that even where textual similarities indicate the possibility of Baudelairian influence, the multiplicity of alternative sources generated by Villaespesa's extraordinary appetite for reading joins with the usual range of equally plausible explanations for the presence of the elements concerned to complicate an attempt to determine the origins of the similarities beyond the point of practical resolution.

4. The style of Villaespesa

The case against the possibility of a debt to Baudelaire is further supported by factors which could have limited the extent to which Villaespesa's art was able to accommodate the Frenchman's influence.

Villaespesa's poetics were essentially those of Romanticism. Mendizábal rightly identifies throughout the work of Villaespesa 'inminencias románticas muy marcadas' (PC, I, cxv). Sánchez Trigueros endorses this view, and suggests that the continuity of Romantic poetics in Villaespesa's work was interrupted only by the modernista experiment of La copa del rey de Thule; after which the Spaniard 'volverá la cara a su poesía anterior, a su expresión romántica' (Francisco Villaespesa y su primera obra poética, p. 156). The character of the Spaniard's poetry resulted in part from a conscious decision, in the face of the sterile imitative poetry of the

Spanish *decadencia* of the 1880s and 1890s, to return to the more vital artistic standards of Romanticism and its aesthetic descent:

> [P]refiero una *lied* de Heine, una *Rima* de Bécquer, a todas esas alhajas de similar adornadas de falsa pedrería retórica, a que tan aficionados se muestran las actuales escuelas poéticas (10).

Villaespesa's poetics, however, also derived from his innate and instinctive predilection for affective language and dramatic resonance. Mendizábal records that Villaespesa was a 'maravilloso recitador y lector de versos' (*PC*, I, xxxvi), a perception which in Juan Ramón Jiménez's *evocación* is expounded with due acknowledgement but somewhat less eulogy:

> Villaespesa estaba estraordinariamente dotado para la poesía efectiva, siempre con las candilejas al pie. Arrastraba, entonces, como un actor de gran latiguillo y escelso falsete, y embobaba a la juventud provinciana, como hoy García Lorca (11).

Villaespesa's poetical dramatism is consistent with the 'tradición oratoria' in post Classical Spanish literature identified by Gustav Siebenmann (12). Almost without exception his poems display the symptoms of *retórica teatral*: exclamation marks are rarely absent; narrative is frequently metamorphosed through the incorporation of oratorical devices into a dramatic monologue:

> Sobre su corazón puse el oído,
> y juro que sentí cual si quisiera,
> de mi inmenso dolor compadecido,
> palpitar otra vez y no pudiera
> (*PC*, I, 283).

Description is transformed by similar means into melodramatic or

histrionic gesture which acquires a certain kinship with the stage direction:

> La hermosa niña enrojeció un instante
> al ver deshecha su ilusión primera,
> y en un arranque de soberbia fiera
> rasgó las cartas del ingrato amante
> (PC, I, 46).

Further illustrations of the dramatic tendency in Villaespesa's poetry could be provided, yet those quoted above suffice to demonstrate that there existed between Villaespesa's poetics and those of Baudelaire, an aesthetic distance not dissimilar to that which separated Les Fleurs du Mal from La vida inquieta. This distance could have acted, as was the case with Manuel Reina, as a natural barrier to Baudelairian influence on a stylistic level.

5. Inspiration and composition

The form taken by textual influences and the degree to which they are present in any work of literature may be determined by its author's conception of what art should express and, indeed, his very manner of composition. 'Lo humano', wrote Villaespesa to Sánchez Rodríguez, 'ha sido y será el espíritu de las obras literarias. . . . Mi vida, buena o mala, engendró mi poesía' (13). This declaration, formulated in respect of Luchas (1899), remains valid for almost all of Villaespesa's verse. He treated poetry essentially as a vehicle for a kind of lyrical, intimate autobiography. The subject matter of his verse comprises predominantly his own experience: events and the emotional reactions or states of mind which they engendered. Villaespesa made little

attempt in his art to universalise experience or to abstract inner events from the level of immediate, subjective reaction. His poetry is, in a sense, a mere dictation of his feelings, an unconsidered exposé of his reactions. Villaespesa was, in this sense, an 'instinctive' poet.

Villaespesa's gifts as an intuitive versifier were recognised as early as 1899 in a review of Luchas published in Vida nueva:

> La estrofa brota de la pluma de Villaespesa como un producto natural de todo su ser (no únicamente de su cerebro), y por este don de criar su alma la poesía, como un rosal cría las rosas, es por lo que el joven andaluz, es un poeta verdadero (14).

The same point was made with greater precision almost forty years later by Juan Ramón Jiménez, in an appreciation formulated in respect of Villaespesa's creative activity in general:

> Villaespesa, como Rueda, como otros de entonces y ahora 'no sabía escribir'. Sus faltas de sintaxis y ortografía, su lugar común eran normales, invariables. El verso es muy engañoso, da el pego fácilmente a quien no tenga buena vista. . . . Villaespesa era un fácil en prosa y verso, y si acertaba con tal o cual ritmo a giro, era intuición pura. . . . Sería inútil querer profundizar en la obra de Villaespesa, buscar en él o en ella una ideología, un centro sensitivo, una mina de emoción, cosa tan sencilla en Unamuno y Antonio Machado (15).

Several of the points made here are of great significance as far as Villaespesa's susceptibility to influence is concerned. The lack of a philosophical or existential dimension in Villaespesa's work precludes influences of the kind which contribute to the clarification of a writer's vision of himself and of the world, or which intervene in the formulation of techniques appropriate to the expression of such a vision. Neither is it likely that the thematic dimension of Villaespesa's poem was conditioned

significantly by influences, for he looked to his own experience to provide the subject matter of his poems, and proceeded to transcribe it quite uncritically into verse. Furthermore, because Villaespesa relied so heavily on his natural poetic gifts, it is improbable that his reading had a formative effect upon his own style of writing, other than to reinforce existing trends and predispositions. These facts would tend to suggest that Villaespesa's debt to the writers in whose work he encountered a source of inspiration was limited largely to borrowings which were superficial in a number of senses. To begin with, his response to what subsequently became a source of influence was probably determined more by its impact in affective terms than through the appeal of meaning. As a consequence it is likely that he selected for incorporation into his work only the surface structure of the source, and not its substance. Furthermore, the composition into which Villaespesa incorporated the source was itself often little more than a superficial structure with, as Jiménez indicated, little, if anything, in the way of core or substructure of meaning.

It is unlikely, then, that the sources which Villaespesa incorporated into his work underwent the processes of assimilation and transformation which characterises influence in the work of the poets who were more deeply involved than the author of <u>La copa del rey de Thule</u> with existential preoccupations. As a result, one might expect sources of influence to resurface in a more recognisable form in Villaespesa's poetry. This supposition is supported by the testimony of Juan Ramón Jiménez:

> Villaespesa . . . tiene todos sus libros [de los escritores sudamericanos] y nos los lleva a leer

> a todos, y los copia en sus propios libros, hasta el punto de que a cada libro de los primeros de Villaespesa se le puede señalar el antecedente en las obras de estos precursores (16).

This pronouncement suggests that influence in the work of Villaespesa came close to taking the form of imitation. This was in fact the case, as confirmed by Sánchez Trigueros who declares in respect of La copa del rey de Thule that

> [y] es que lo que en realidad se trasparenta en La copa del rey de Thule es la portentosa facilidad imitativa de un autor que acaba de cumplir los veintitrés años (¡lástima que con el tiempo esta virtud se le convierta en vicio!) (Op. cit, p. 129).

An even more crude form of influence is to be detected in the abundant allusions to sources of inspiration which are to be found throughout Villaespesa's poetical works (17).

The consequences of these factors as far as prediction of the influence of Baudelaire is concerned are three in number. In the first place, any debt to the French poet was likely to have been superficial, not deeply pondered or the result of a slow process of critical assimilation. Secondly, Villaespesa's propensity for imitation increases the number of sources reflected in his work to a level at which the confusion likely to occur where several sources are possible, becomes impossible to resolve without external evidence. Finally, given the probability that influences in Villaespesa's work are easily identifiable, an absence of similarities may be equated with an absence of influence more readily than is possible where sources are likely to be less recognisable. In the case of Villaespesa, the factor of invisible or disguised influences is likely to be less significant.

II. TEXTO Y SUPERTEXTO (18)

Examination of extra-textual evidence and of certain characteristic facets of Villaespesa's poetry and poetics has revealed a number of factors which, with regard to the Spaniard's work in general, either minimise the likelihood of Baudelairian influence or render the demonstration of such a debt a virtual impossibility. This conclusion provides in itself as definitive a response as is to be expected in any influence enquiry, yet no assessment could be deemed complete without reference to a dimension of evidence which remains to be explored: the product of Villaespesa's creative activity. Evidence of this order can be divided into, on the one hand, inter-textual similarities and, on the other, information regarding the particular circumstances affecting the likelihood of Baudelairian influence in the work of Villaespesa at any one point in time.

1. Intimidades

Intimidades, Villaespesa's first collection of verse, was published at the beginning of March 1898 in Madrid, where the young andaluz had arrived for the first time in September 1897. It is not possible to delimit with absolute certainty the period of time during which the poems of Intimidades were composed, although it seems likely that most of them were written between 1893 and 1897, with a few modifications being made prior to publication in 1898.

The sources of inspiration to which Villaespesa turned at this stage of his career were almost exclusively Spanish. Federico de Onís describes the Spaniard's poetry before he met and fell under

the influence of Rubén Darío - 'obra precoz de adolescencia' - as 'de formación española, con influencias predominantes de Rueda, Reina, y otros poetas andaluces como él'. The critic also alludes to Villaespesa's facility and capacity for imitation during this formative period: 'mostraba bien [sus poesía] sus dotes naturales y su capacidad de asimilación' (19). Of the poets mentioned by de Onís, Rueda was probably the dominant influence:

> En efecto, para Villaespesa como para la gran parte de los poetas jóvenes de entonces, Rueda era el maestro indiscutible . . . ; era el hombre que había marcado la vuelta poética a la Naturaleza, el que había revitalizado la poesía española, el poeta de los sentidos y fuertes sensaciones, el de la luz (20).

Equally influential during these early years was Zorrilla, who figured prominently among Villaespesa's literary cynosures at the beginning of his poetical career. While at university in Granada (he registered to study Law in 1894 but his studies came to a premature end in September 1897) he frequented the aulas only sporadically, preferring to 'ir a la Alhambra o embriagarse en las poesías de Zorrilla, uno de sus preferidos' (21). The poems of Intimidades also display features characteristic of Romantic verse, indicating, probably, the influence of Espronceda. Sánchez Trigueros identifies 'el tono fuertemente intimista de vuelta a lo romántico, el tono sobre todo espronceciano y arrollador presente en los "poemas-manifiesto"' (Op. cit., p. 51), the poems concerned being 'Aspiración' (PC, I, 17) and '¡Lucha!' (PC, I, 14). It is uncertain whether Villaespesa's romanticismo owed anything to the impassioned declamations of Hugo and his contemporaries. There can be little doubt, however, that had

a French influence occurred at this moment in time, it would not have emanated from the poets of later generations. Sánchez Trigueros refers to 'su desconocimiento entonces de la última poesía francesa' (Op. cit., p. 64) and, given the evidence, there is little reason to suspect otherwise.

Nevertheless, 'echoes' of Baudelaire are to be found in certain poems of Intimidades. An example is 'Aspiración' (PC, I, 17), one of the 'poemas-manifiesto' mentioned above. Thematic resemblances can be discerned between this poem and three of Baudelaire's compositions: 'Elévation' (OC, 46), 'L'Albatros' (OC, 45) and 'Les Plaintes d'un Icare' (OC, 85). Each of the sources share with 'Aspiración' the image of vigorous flight associated with expansion of the poet's consciousness. Villaespesa's poem begins as follows:

> Del mundo por el vasto panorama
> audaz cruza mi altivo pensamiento . . .
> ¡Alas para volar le presta el viento,
> y luz para brillar la roja llama! . . . .

In 'Elévation' the poet's thoughts 'prennent un libre essor'. His spirit is borne up by an 'aile vigoureuse' to 'les champs lumineux et sereins', to the empyrean sphere beyond even 'les confins des sphères étoilées; here, in serene rapture, it glides effortlessly over the spectacle of life below, on a higher plane of being. The poet is the 'voyageur ailé' of 'L'Albatros'.

The poet of 'Aspiración' is filled with a sense of reckless, almost defiant energy and vigour; his emotions are intensified as his spirit rises:

La tempestad mi corazón inflama
y hondo placer en sus horrores siento;
y canto al son del huracán violento,
y duermo en brazos de la mar que brama.

These lines recall Baudelaire's image which refers to the poet of 'L'Albatros' as the 'prince des nuées / Qui hante la tempête et se rit de l'archer'.

In 'Aspiración' the poet, set free from the bonds of physical and material existence, looks down on the world with contempt and a certain sense of repulsion:

Libre del lazo de la ruin materia,
del mundo no conozco la miseria,
ni al yugo de sus leyes me doblego . . .

In 'Elévation', similarly, the poet exhorts his spirit to rise up from 'ces miasmes morbides', to leave behind 'les ennuis et les vastes chagrins / Qui chargent de leur poids l'existence brumeuse'. The poet's aspiration culminates, however, in self-destruction:

Busco del sol las luminosas galas
¡y he de volar hasta que allá en su fuego
mi mente queme sus brillantes alas!

This image draws upon the myth of Icarus as Baudelaire does, more explicitly, in 'Les Plaintes d'un Icare':

En vain j'ai voulu de l'espace
Trouver la fin et le milieu;
Sous je ne sais quel oeil de feu
Je sens mon aile qui se casse;

Et brûle par l'amour du beau,
Je n'aurai pas l'honneur sublime
De donner mon nom à l'abîme
Qui me servira de tombeau.

The similarities which exist between 'Aspiración' and the three poems by Baudelaire amount to more than a passing resemblance, and thereby merit acknowledgement. Yet this fact should not be allowed to divert attention from the evidence that, if 'Aspiración' was the product of influences, the sources of inspiration were almost inevitably other than Baudelaire. This view is corroborated by the existence of an even closer resemblance between 'Aspiración' and verses which were far more likely to have fuelled Villaespesa's 'facilidad imitativa'. A number of possible sources are found in the work of Manuel Reina. The image of vigorous flight to the empyrean sphere is used in 'La visión amada' to evoke the state of inspiration: 'vuela audaz mi arrebatada mente / por la sublime esfera luminosa'. It also appears, in a form much closer to that of 'Aspiración' than that of Baudelaire's poems, in 'Al autor de "La musa abandonada"':

¿Te acuerdas . . .? Nuestra ardiente fantasía
por regiones serenas y estrelladas
sus alas poderosos extendía

A line from the same poem - 'cuyo recuerdo el corazón me inflama' - resembles closely one in the second quatrain of 'Aspiración': 'La tempestad mi corazón inflama'; although this image may well have been an epochal convention deriving originally from Romanticism. The images of the 'tempestad' and the 'huracán'

are also frequent in Reina's poetry: 'la recia tempestad rompía furiosa mi cerebro', is found in 'A Antonio Aguilar y Cano'; 'vuela por el mundo, desatado / huracán de perfidias y rencores' and 'cuando en el aire estalla / la tempestad con todos sus horrores' appear in 'Al autor de "La musa abandonada"', to quote but three examples (22). The same imagery is also to be found in Becquer's Rimas. In Rima III, the image of the hurricane is used to depict the tumultuous upsurge of inspiration:

> Sacudimiento extraño
> que agita las ideas,
> como huracán que empuja
> las olas en tropel.

In Rima LII we find ' [o]las gigantes que os rompéis bramando', ' [r]áfagas de huracán que arrebatáis / . . . las marchitas hojas' and ' [n]ubes de tempestad que rompe el rayo' (23).

The most probable single source of 'Aspiración' is, however, the poetry of Espronceda. In 'El sol' can be found the surging flight of the imagination

> ardiente como tú mi fantasía
> arrebatada en ansias de admirarte
> intrépidas a ti sus alas guía

and also storm-churned windswept seas: 'y a mareo por los vientos despeñadas, bramó la tempestad'. The sea wolf of 'La canción del pirata', is, like the poet of 'Aspiración', free from the laws to which the inhabitants of the earth must submit themselves:

> Allá muevan feroz guerra

ciegos reyes
por un palmo más de tierra:
que yo tengo aquí por mío
cuanto abarca el mar bravío.
a quien nadie impuso leyes.

He too is surrounded by and exalts in 'del negro mar los bramidos' and is 'arrullado por el mar'. The nature of the poet as symbolised in 'La canción del pirata' resembles that presented in 'Aspiración' in a number of fundamental respects. Espronceda's hero, like Villaespesa's poet-narrator is driven by intense 'higher' passions; he exists in a dimension different to that inhabited by other men, and his freedom from the constraints to which they are subject is both social and spiritual. The spirit of 'Aspiración', is, however, embodied most comprehensively in 'A Jarifa en una orgia':

Yo me arrojé, cual rápido cometa,
en alas de mi ardiente fantasía:
do quier mi arrebatada mente inquieta
dichas y triunfos encontrar creía.

Yo me lancé con atrevido vuelo
fuera del mundo en la región etérea,
y hallé la duda, y el radiante cielo
vi convertirse en ilusión aérea.

Here, the idea of rapid, energetic flight, symbolising expansion of the consciousness, and violent passions ('mi arrebatada mente inquieta') culminating in disillusion and negative insight are combined, and so reproduce the three fundamental thematic components of 'Aspiración' (24).

Further similarities between the poems of Intimidades and those of Baudelaire are also to be explained in terms of more probable sources of influence. In 'La mejor canción' (PC, I, 21), the poet seeks to escape his 'lúgubre tristeza' in sensual embraces:

> Deja que enamorado enloquecido,
> en tu seno recline mi cabeza
> y olvide, contemplando tu belleza,
> todos los desengaños que he sufrido . . .
>
> Como ya tu cariño he conseguido
> y esclava es de mi amor tu gentileza,
> las sombras de mi lúgubre tristeza
> huyen a refugiarse en el olvido.

The same desire for loss of self is expressed in Les Fleurs du Mal in poems such as 'Le Léthé' (OC, 61):

> Je veux dormir! dormir plutôt que vivre!
> Dans un sommeil aussi doux que la mort,
> J'étalerai mes baisers sans remord
> Sur ton beau corps poli comme le cuivre.
>
> Pour engloutir mes sanglots apaisés
> Rien ne vaut l'abîme de ta couche;
> L'oubli puissant habite sur ta bouche,
> et Le Léthé coule dans tes baisers.

The means chosen to evoke this attitude in Villaespesa's poem, however, have a more plausible source in Spanish antecedents, such as Espronceda's 'A Jarifa en una orgia':

Trae, Jarifa, trae tu mano,
ven y pósala en mi frente
que en un mar de lava hirviente
mi cabeza siento arder.

Ven y junta con mis labios
esos labios que me irritan,
donde aún los besos palpitan
de tus amantes de ayer.

The same may be said of the following quatrain from Villaespesa's 'Intima' (PC, I, 29). The final verse

Mas no busques amor. . . . Murió mi alma
del desengaño entre las negras brumas,
y sólo guardo escoria y podredumbre . . .
¡Lo que queda en el fondo de las tumbas!

The idea of spiritual desolation too acute to be assuaged by sensual caresses is also expressed in Baudelaire's 'Causerie' (OC, 74):

Ta main se glisse en vain sur mon sein qui se pâme;
Ce qu'elle cherche, amie, est un lieu saccagé
Par la griffe et la dent féroce de la femme.
Ne cherchez plus mon coeur; les bêtes l'ont mangé.

Yet a sense of disillusion expressed through images of decay has a more direct antecedent in the work of Espronceda:

Luego en la tierra la virtud, la gloria,
busqué con ansia y delirante amor,
y hediondo polvo y deleznable escoria

mi fatigado espíritu encontró.

Mujeres vi de virginal limpieza
entre albas nubes de celeste lumbre;
yo las toqué, y en humo su pureza
trocarse vi, y en todo y podredumbre.
(25)

In 'La última rima' (PC, I, 32), a reference is made to 'algún dolor oculto y sin consuelo'. The notion that malaise cannot be traced to specific origins is also found in the poetry of Baudelaire. In 'L'Ennemi' (OC, 49), reference is made to 'l'obscur Ennemi qui nous ronge le coeur'; in 'La Vie antérieure' (OC, 51) to '[l]e secret douloureux qui me faisait languir'. In 'Le Masque (OC, 53-54) the question is phrased: 'Quel mal mystérieux ronge son flanc d'athlète'. In 'Sonnet d'automne' (OC, 80), the poet shrinks from divulging or, possibly, cannot reveal 'son secret infernal', and in 'Spleen' ('Je suis comme le roi d'un pays pluvieux', OC, 85-88) the spiritual affliction of the young king who symbolises the poet, evades diagnosis by even the most gifted minds: 'Le savant qui lui fait de l'or n'a jamais pu / De son être extirper l'élément corrompu'. Nevertheless, the same idea is expressed in Manuel Reina's 'Byron en la bacanal', where the mal du siecle is described as 'la oculta pena' (26).

The examples examined above follow a uniform pattern: the degree of resemblance is sufficient for the possibility of influence to be considered, but this possibility is rendered unlikely in the extreme, in the first place by evidence of Villaespesa's literary preferences at the time and secondly by the existence of highly plausible alternative sources of

inspiration. There is, however, one exception to this pattern. In the case of 'Ocaso' (PC, I, 21) the similarity to Baudelairian sources is arguably greater than elsewhere. Moreover, there is little convincing evidence of alternative sources in the work of more likely contenders for influence (although the range of sources determined on the basis of critical and biographical testimony could by no means be deemed to constitute an exhaustive catalogue of Villaespesa's principal fuentes de inspiración at the time).

Significant parallels are to be discerned between 'Ocaso' and 'Recueillement' (OC, 101). Both poems depict the moment of transition from emotional agitation to poignant melancholy, a process to which the catalyst is, in each case, the sunset hour. In the opening lines of 'Recueillement' the poet addresses his grief as if she were a woman, entreating her to be calm and savour the mood of the evening as dusk falls: 'Sois sage, ô ma Douleur, et tiens-toi plus tranquille. / Tu réclamais le Soir; il descend; le voici'. 'Ocaso' begins in a very similar manner, with the significant exception that Villaespesa's companion is human: 'Asómate al balcón; cesa en tus bromas, / y la tristeza de la tarde siente'. The atmospheric scene which has arrested the poet's attention and awakened new, solemn emotions is immediately revealed. In 'Recueillement' it is the city as night falls: 'Une atmosphère obscure enveloppe la ville'; in 'Ocaso', it is the sun setting over the hills: 'El sol, al expirar en Occidente, / de rojo tiñe las vecinas lomas'.

The second quatrain of each sonnet describes the stimuli which impress themselves upon the poet's senses and consciousness to bring about the transition of mood. In the first tercet, the

characteristic emotion of the état d'âme is defined: 'le Regret souriant' and 'amargura'. The focus in the final tercet is in each case the setting sun, which in 'Recueillement' provides an image charged with the sense of melancholy evoked in the preceding verses, and in 'Ocaso' symbolises the fate which may befall passion when loves are separated.

If one overlooks evidence to the effect that Baudelaire did not figure among Villaespesa's sources of inspiration during the period when Intimidades were composed, a plausible case for the possibility of a debt to the Frenchman can be formulated.

The fundamental point of contact between the two sonnets resides in their subject-matter: the melancholy insight which fills the consciousness at the sunset hour. This resemblance, then, conforms to what has been ascertained regarding the level upon which influences were likely to have occurred in Villaespesa's poetry, for it involves the conceptual structure or framework through which the theme is expressed. It involves the 'situation' which provides a vehicle for the expression of the theme, rather than the theme itself, which is not common to both poems: 'Ocaso' deals with the sorrows and apprehensions that come with being in love rather than existential malaise; 'amargura' replaces bittersweet melancholy. That the discrepancies between the two sonnets should occur on a thematic level is also in keeping with expectations of where a debt would not have been incurred, for Villaespesa was prone to draw upon his own experience when seeking an issue around which to construct a poem.

Discussion of the similarities and differences between 'Ocaso' and 'Recueillement' can, of course, only give rise to a hypothesis regarding the possibility of a literary debt to

Baudelaire. The similarity, however well developed, is far from being conclusive proof of influence. Hypothesis yields nothing in the way of conclusive fact; the scenario it proposes is only valid if certain assumed conditions are actually true. Consequently it cannot increase the possibility of Baudelairian influence in a real sense in the same way that this possibility is reduced by clear evidence of sources of influence other than the Frenchman. In spite of this, however, the presence of the resemblance between 'Ocaso' and 'Recueillement' (and, indeed, of the other similarities which are to be detected in Intimidades) may exercise a psychological influence upon the source hunter, as a result of which his willingness to entertain the possibility of a debt to Baudelaire develops to a disproportionate degree.

Let us examine how this psychological influence may operate in the case of Intimidades. There are two types of data pertinent to an assessment of the possibility of Baudelairian influence in this collection of poems each pointing to a different conclusion. On the one hand, there are inter-textual similarities which suggest that a debt to Baudelaire may have been incurred. On the other hand, there is external evidence regarding Villaespesa's literary preferences during the period when the poems of Intimidades were composed, together with more realistic alternative sources for the similarities detected; this data serves to reduce the likelihood of influence. Neither of these two sources of evidence provides a conclusive answer to the question of whether or not a Baudelairian influence is present in Intimidades, so ultimately a calculation of probabilities must be made to determine the relative strength of each contention. On this occasion, the weight of evidence falls in favour of the likelihood that no

debt to the Frenchman was incurred. Nevertheless, owing to the presence of similarities and the imprecise nature of the external evidence (it is not stated explicitly that the Frenchman did not exert an influence) the possibility of Baudelairian influence cannot entirely be discounted however slight it may be. It is through the acknowledgement of this possibility that the presence of inter-textual similarities is able to exert a psychological influence upon the mind of an investigative reader of Intimidades. Given the evidence which counters the likelihood of influence on this occasion, logic would require no more than token recognition of the possibility of Baudelairian influence. Yet merely to entertain the notion that an inter-textual similarity may represent an influence is to initiate a mental process by which factors which do not conform to this perspective are suppressed. The association made between the presumed source and its reflection in the 'influenced' text is sufficient in itself to abstract the latter from its context, so that it is considered purely in terms of its relation to the text which it is deemed to resemble. If this process proceeds unchecked, disproportionate emphasis is placed upon the possibility of influence, to the detriment of logically viable alternatives such as, in this case, the influence of writers other than Baudelaire. The 'Baudelaire option' is permitted to figure too prominently among the various scenarios which could be formulated to explain the presence in Intimidades of the element(s) in question; it abandons its rightful place on the scale of probabilities.

That this should occur is, of course, logically unacceptable. While the possibility of Baudelairian influence cannot be entirely

rejected, the weight of evidence is such that it should not be allowed to usurp the position occupied by more realistic probabilities.

This line of thought may appear somewhat peripheral to the question of whether or not one can speak of Baudelairian influence in Intimidades. The digression is, however, not unwarranted, since it brings to the fore a factor which is far from irrelevant to the present enquiry: the unreliability of the inter-textual similarity as an indicator of influence. Consider the example of 'Aspiración'. External evidence and sources of inspiration other than Baudelaire render the possibility of a debt to the Frenchman so unlikely as to be negligible; but what conclusion might be drawn by a reader predisposed to see the influence of Baudelaire viewing the poem in isolation, without knowledge of these facts? The case of 'Aspiración' serve to illustrate three factors which must be taken into account when investigating influence through the medium of inter-textual similarities. First, the rapport de fait engenders a predisposition to assume a causal relation with the presumed source. This may lead to proclamations of literary debt when in reality none was incurred. Second, the presence of similarities may lead to disproportionate credence being accorded to the possibility of influence where circumstances render a debt most unlikely. Third, the risk of being misled in these ways is increased by the fact that the common currency and conventions of literature, particularly within one epoch and one culture, are far greater than students of influence, may, by the nature of their investigations, be predisposed to acknowledge. This makes it possible for very precise points of contact to exist between two texts which have nothing

to do with influence.

2. Flores de almendro

Flores de almendro was the product of a period of creative activity which probably overlapped to a significant degree with that which saw the composition of Intimidades. It is likely, therefore, that the writers whose work exerted an influence upon Villaespesa when he wrote the poems of Flores de almendro were to a great extent those who inspired the poet during the composition of Intimidades. The elegiac 'A Espronceda' (PC, I, 51-52) suggests the continuing influence of the author of El diablo mundo. This factor may explain the presence of the stylistic trappings of 'black' Romanticism; components which, were circumstances more conducive to presupposing post-Romantic French influences, might provide the grounds on which to entertain the possibility, albeit slight, of a debt to Baudelaire. The section of Flores de almendro aptly entitled 'Jaramagos' (PC, I, 52-57), with its funereal decor and iconography of the graveyard, is particularly representative of this trend:

> ¡Ni una cruz en mi fosa! En el olvido
> del viejo camposanto,
> donde no tengo ni un amigo muerto,
> bajo la tierra gris, sueñan mis labios;
> y de sus sueños silenciosos brotan
> amarillos y tristes jaramagos
> . . . . . .
> ¡Ya pronto moriré! Tiembla en mi pecho
> como agónica lámpara la vida.

. . . . . .

Sobre su tumba olvidada
negra cruz abre los brazos.

. . . . . .

las funerarias tinieblas

Another possible source is Bécquer:

Cuando mis pálidos restos
oprima la tierra ya,
sobre la olvidada fosa,
¿quién vendrá a llorar?

. . . . . .

En donde esté una piedra solitaria
sin inscripción alguna,
donde habite el olvido,
allí estará mi tumba.

(27)

Possibly the only poem of Flores de almendro, in respect of which the case for possibility of a debt to Baudelaire could acquire any degree of credibility is 'Olímpica' (PC, I, 50-51):

Su olímpica belleza dura y fría
ni el llanto ablanda ni el dolor conmueve;
y entre sus senos vírgenes de nieve,
el amor no ha dormido todavía.

Su mirada orgullosa desafía;
su voz ordena persuasiva y breve;
y aunque morir os viese, ni el más leve

músculo de su rostro alteraría.

No encontraréis en su frialdad malicia,
que, hecha para pasiones más gloriosas,
desprecia nuestros frívolos amores . . .

Y su mano, que ignora la caricia,
en cambio sabe coronar de rosas
la frente de los bravos vencedores.

Significant parallels may be drawn between this poem and verses from Les Fleurs du Mal in which la Beauté is personified in female form. The woman, or woman-figure, described in 'Olímpica' has a statuesque form of Classical proportions. This is also true of the imperious personification of 'La Beauté' (OC, 53), who describes her perfection as that of 'un rêve de pierre' and speaks of 'mes grandes attitudes, / Que j'ai l'air d'emprunter aux plus fiers monuments'. This characteristic is also present in the evocation of le beau formulated in 'Le Masque' (OC, 53):

Contemplons ce trésor de grâces florentines;
Dans l'ondulation de ce corps musculeux
L'Elégance et la Force abondent, soeurs divines.
Cette femme, morceau vraiment miraculeux,
Divinement robuste, adorablement mince,
Est faite pour trôner sur des lits somptueux,
Et charmer les loisirs d'un pontife ou d'un prince.

In both 'Olímpica' and 'La Beauté', whiteness, the traditional attribute of symbolic personifications of beauty, acquires an ambivalent quality. On the one hand it represents virginal

purity, and on the other inhuman hardness, impassivity and indifference to the sentiments of mere mortals. The beauty of 'senos vírgenes de nieve' is 'dura y fría'. Similarly, Baudelaire's Beauté 'uni[t] un coeur de neige à la blancheur des cygnes'. Just as the beauty of 'Olímpica' is cold yet devoid of malice, so the 'ange inviolé' of 'Avec ses vêtements ondoyants et nacrés' (OC, 58) is capable of supreme indifference:

> Comme le sable morne et l'azur des déserts,
> Insensibles tous deux à l'humaine souffrance
> Comme les longs réseaux de la houle des mers,
> Elle se développe avec indifférence.

In 'Olímpica', 'La Beauté' and 'Hymne à la Beauté' (OC, 54), Beauty remains unmoved even by the spectacle of the death of its devotees; and indeed it exacts the supreme sacrifice as the price of admiration. '[L]e Meurtre', chants the poet to his goddess, '[est] parmi tes plus chères breloques'.

The closest points of contact between the two poems come near to being echoes. The line 'ni el llanto ablanda ni el dolor conmueve' not only reiterates the sense of 'Et jamais je ne pleure et jamais je ne ris' ('La Beauté') but also recreates its syntax. '[S]enos vírgenes de nieve' recall 'un coeur de neige'. Having drawn this comparison, however, it is prudent to recall what has been said in respect of 'Ocaso' in Intimidades. The influence of one particular poet is only one reason among many to explain the presence of inter-textual similarities, and on this occasion the evidence is stacked against such a possibility.

3. Luchas, Confidencias

Luchas and Confidencias, collections which prefigure in certain aspects the modernismo of La copa del rey de Thule were the product of Villaespesa's experiences during the first period of residence in Madrid (12 September 1897 to 10 April 1898). Luchas, to which final alterations were still being made at the end of 1898 (Sánchez Trigueros refers to the collection as being 'en período de depuración' [Op. cit., p. 66]), was eventually published on 9 August 1899, some three and a half months after Villaespesa's arrival in Madrid on his second visit to the capital (25 April 1899).

The period during which Luchas and Confidencias were composed saw significant developments in the field of Villaespesa's literary contacts. It is highly likely that before these books went to press their author had been initiated, albeit to a modest degree, into the mysteries of post-Romantic French literature. It is no longer feasible, therefore, to assume the unlikelihood of Baudelairian influence on the grounds that Villaespesa's sources of inspiration were almost exclusively Spanish. At the end of 1898 the young Spaniard met Charles Maurras from whom it is likely that he acquired first-hand knowledge of literary developments in France. On his second visit to Madrid, Villaespesa made the acquaintance of Rubén Darío, who was surely to prove, albeit incidentally, source of information regarding post-Romantic French literature. The dedication to Darío of the poem 'Pasionaria' (PC, I, 76-79) indicates that the Nicaraguan's role as source of influences and intermediary had had time to establish itself while the poems of Luchas were still being written. Further dedications reveal an association with other men of letters whose interest in French literature became manifest at an early stage: Enrique Gómez Carrillo

('La canción de mi musa' (PC, I, 71), Bernado González de Candamo ('¡Adelante!', PC, I, 74-75), and Pedro González Blanco ('Lontananzas', PC, I, 89) (28). In addition to these dedications, an allusion is to be found in 'Bohemia' (PC, I, 83-85 [p. 84]) to Rafael Cansinos Assens, who was also a literary progressive receptive to aesthetic currents from France. Finally, there is evidence at the time when Luchas and Confidencias were being composed of Villaespesa's nascent interest in the work of South American writers (29). Many of these would have received the influence of Baudelaire directly, and there are grounds to suppose that Villaespesa may have learnt something of Baudelaire as a result of contact with their verse.

Although these factors increase the potential for Baudelairian influence in Luchas and Confidencias, a number of others serve to reduce the actual possibility that a direct literary debt to the French poet could have been incurred. The first of these concerns the new sources of inspiration which Villaespesa discovered during his sojourn in Madrid. Since these writers were embryonic modernistas who partook of an aesthetic tradition deriving largely from Baudelaire, it is likely that 'Baudelairian' elements in Luchas and Confidencias owed their existence, not to the direct influence of the Frenchman, but to that of his Hispanic aesthetic descendants with whose work Villaespesa had become acquainted. The link between the Spaniard and Baudelaire may indeed be extremely tenuous; any 'Baudelairian' traits which Villaespesa culled from the work of emergent modernistas may not themselves necessarily have been the result of the direct influence of the Frenchman's work. They may simply have been notions, formulae or images,

which by a process of gradual diffusion had broken free of the precise textual sources whence they originated, to become freely circulating conventions of an epoch, the common currency of an aesthetic tradition.

The second factor restricting the likelihood of Baudelairian influence in Luchas and Confidencias involves Villaespesa's earlier sources of inspiration. These were not simply replaced by the new agents of influence, but continued to provide in the Spaniard's poetry a framework of established influence on to which the more recent generation of literary debts were grafted. Antonio Sánchez Trigueros infers as much when he describes Luchas as a blend of innovatory and established aspects:

> Luchas es . . . una obra directa, clara en su planteamiento y fines, y cuando emplea algún símbolo (Cristo, Lucano, víctimas de sus enemigos), éste es tan transparente que deja de serlo. Villaespesa hasta ahora es Modernista en su actitud personal de ruptura, pero apenas en su poesía. Desde el punto de vista estrófico prácticamente sigue la métrica tradicional, con alguna utilización del dodecasílabo a lo Rueda, que es el poeta del que más cerca está. En Luchas tampoco se buscan innovaciones expresivas o la creación de un lenguage poético propio, y la Belleza, como tópico Modernista, no es su aspiración. El dramatismo del libro es fundamentalmente romántico y sigue teniendo su raíz en el dolor íntimo del poeta. (Op. cit., pp. 86-87).

The Romantic character of Luchas is very much in evidence. Melodrama and histrionic gesture (the final tercet of 'La muerte de Lucano', PC, I, 76, recalls the last verse of Manuel Reina's 'Don Juan en los infiernos'), declamatory style, resonant adjectives and the conventionalised passions of Romantic poetry all proliferate, thereby stifling any flicker of tono menor. Villaespesa's continuing admiration for Rueda is also apparent: 'Bohemia' (PC, I, 83-85) contains an allusion to 'Salvador, el artista luminoso, /

el de numen espléndido' (p. 83).

The third factor which reduces the probability of Baudelairian influence is the absence, with one exception, of close similarities of the kind which provide a suitable basis on which to argue the possibility of influence (particularly on this occasion, where the possible sources of influence are numerous). This consideration would not normally be pertinent to the question of influences, for the inter-textual similarity is not a necessary tangible consequence of the phenomenon of influence, just as it may not always signify an influence. Nevertheless, Villaespesa's higher than average capacity for uncritical assimilation and imitation of sources of influence increases the possibility that influence would go hand in hand with easily recognisable inter-textual rapports de fait. The lack of such material, then, weakens the case for influence.

The exception to this situation is 'Tarde de otoño' (PC, I, 95-98), the first poem of Confidencias. In this composition, the poet evokes the sense of bitter melancholy and disillusion which autumn brings, awakening consciousness of death and the irretrievable loss of all that brings succour and solace to the spirit. Of the images used to evoke this state of mind a particularly poignant one is the hollow sound of the axe striking dry logs:

Ya llega el otoño . . .
Cómo un ¡ay! de amargura resuena
en los troncos secos el golpe del hacha . . .

A comparable image is found in Baudelaire's 'Chant d'automne' (OC, 74), a poem which expresses sentiments similar to those given

form in 'Tarde de otoño':

> Bientôt nous plongerons dans les froides ténèbres;
> Adieu, vive clarté de nos étés trop courts!
> J'entends déja tomber avec des chocs funèbres
> Le bois retentissant sur le pavé des cours.

The proximity of the two images is certainly sufficient to support speculation regarding the possibility of Baudelairian influence on this occasion. At the same time, however, one should not be unreceptive to alternative explanations. For example, would not the sound of firewood being chopped have been as common an experience in autumn time at the end of the nineteenth century as the click of the thermostat that sets the central heating in operation is today? Events of daily life readily offer themselves as objective correlatives for inner events, and the creative imagination is not necessarily dependent upon influences to appreciate their value in this respect.

In conclusion, passing reference may be made to the abundant funereal imagery, death and decay which are to be found in Luchas. The temptation to associate these with Baudelaire should be resisted. To begin with, they are present in Villaespesa's earlier poetry and probably represent a continuation of this trend. Secondly, they were the common currency of the morbid strain of Romanticism, a tradition of which Villaespesa partook. Finally, graveyard iconography and a preoccupation with death is present in the verse of poets with whose works Villaespesa was either familiar from an early stage or possibly became acquainted during the period when he was composing Luchas and Confidencias: Espronceda, Bécquer,

Rueda, José Asunción Silva, Julián del Casal and Salvador Díaz Mirón (30).

4. La copa del rey de Thule

Francisco Villaespesa returned to Madrid from his native Andalusia at the end of November 1899. By January 1900 he had completed the manuscript of the work which was to become considered as a centrepiece and synthesis of Spanish modernismo: La copa del rey de Thule. The collection was published in November of the same year and comprised some fifteen compositions written, according to Mendizábal, between 1898 and 1900. The version of La copa which appears in the Poesías completas, however, contains some twenty-six poems, while four of the compositions which appeared in the original edition ('Histérica', 'Ave, femina', 'La sonrisa del fauno' and 'Pagana', PC, I, 184-87) find themselves transferred to a contemporaneous collection, El alto de los bohemios. The eleven poems added in the Poesías completas were probably written during the same period as the others, for the chronology followed by Mendizábal corresponds to the time of composition of the poems as opposed to the date of publication. Nevertheless, the significance of La copa with regard to Spanish modernismo justifies adherence, for the purposes of the present study, to the original composition of this collection. The poems added by Mendizábal may then be examined alongside the other two volumes of verse composed during this period, La musa enferma and El alto de los bohemios.

A survey of rapports de fait between La copa in its original form and the work of Baudelaire reveals little more than generic resemblances. There are décadent crepuscular scenarios: 'En un

lánguido martirio de oro y púrpura / el crepúsculo moría' ('Los crepúsculos de sangre', PC, I, 106-10 [p. 110]). There are femmes fatales in whom the divine and the infernal are inextricably blended: 'Tienes cuerpo de Angel y corazón de Furia, / y el áspid, en tus besos, su pozoña destila' ('Ave, femina', PC, I, 185). The trappings of diabolism are also present in abundance. The oleander flowers of 'Los crepúsculos de sangre' are described as

> copas de diabólicos ensueños, cincelados
> en el cráneo de las brujas, donde vierten su
> [ponzoña
> las Serpientes del Delirio
> (PC, I, 109);

while in 'Parábolas' (PC, L, 135-39) there are 'los rojos cazadores del infierno / [quienes] con sus gritos, azuzaban las diabólicas jaurías' (p. 135), witches who stir a repulsive potion 'a compás de sus blasfemias' (p. 135), and a demonic warrior:

> Ebria el alma de amarguras, de rencores y
> [venganzas
> a la lid torna el guerrero.
>
> Cubre un pájaro fatídico la cimera de su
> [casco.
> Es más negra su armadura que las alas de los
> [cuervos.
>
> Hay blasfemias infernales en su boca . . .
> Lloran sangre sus pupilas en silencio . . .
> Y le siguen, cual famélicas jaurías,
> en caballos montaraces,
> cien legiones de diabólicos espectros
> (pp. 137-38).

There are also many images of death, decay; funereal scenarios,

the protagonists of which are ghosts, crows, owls, bats, worms or snakes. 'Epitalamio' (PC, I, 114-115) and 'Los murciélagos' (PC, I, 117-20) provide some of the more striking examples.

The possibility of Baudelairian influence cannot, of course, be discounted merely on the grounds that no close inter-textual similarities are to be discerned. The degree of resemblance between such points of contact is, as has been stated before, not an infallible indicator of literary debt. On this occasion, however, such a consideration is incidental, for the evidence which provides the soundest basis on which to debate the possibility of Baudelairian influence in La copa lies outside the literary text. It is also in evidence of this kind that factors which condition the extent to which the likelihood of a literary debt can be determined are to be found.

In one sense the conditions under which Villaespesa composed the poems of La copa favour the possibility of Baudelairian influence to a far greater degree than those which prevailed when he was writing his earlier work. The likelihood that the Spaniard knew of Baudelaire and had become acquainted with his work is increased considerably by the range of his experience of literary life during the period over which the poems of La copa were written. At the end of 1898 he had met Charles Maurras in Almería, and thereby acquired native knowledge - how much is uncertain - of recent developments in French literature and of the contemporary classics. More significantly, he was becoming increasingly involved in the artistic life of Madrid and, in particular, with the progressive elements among whom a predilection for post-Romantic French literature was becoming the rule rather than the exception. He forged strong links with Darío, and his

range of literary contacts extended significantly beyond those which he had established during his first sojourn in the capital. He made the acquaintance of and planned collaborative ventures with Manuel Machado, Valle-Inclán, Jacinto Benavente and Azorín to name but a few, all of whom were familiar with the contemporary classics of French literature (31). In addition to this, he initiated literary relationships (largely of an epistolary nature) with South American writers at a phenomenal rate, as Juan Ramón Jiménez was to record with a mixture of astonishment and wry amusement (32). The dedications which head many of the poems written during this period provide a graphic indication of how far Villaespesa's circle of literary contacts widened during this phase of his creative activity.

The possibility that Villaespesa's progressive literary acquaintances acted as intermediaries who introduced the Spaniard to Baudelaire's work and that, consequently, he would have been in a position to receive the Frenchman's influence directly, is, however, only one of a number of equally plausible outcomes of his association with such individuals. A relation which, for the sake of argument, is assumed to exist between Villaespesa's literary acquaintances' familiarity with the works of Baudelaire and the presence of 'Baudelairian' elements in certain poems of La copa (inasmuch as such evidence can be considered a reliable indication of influences) would not necessarily have to be explained in terms of direct influence. If the intermediaries had themselves received the influence of Baudelaire, the 'Baudelairian' elements in La copa may have derived from the influence of their work on Villaespesa, rather than from a direct influence which he received from the Frenchman. Alternatively, the knowledge of Baudelaire which Villeaspesa acquired as a result of the action of these inter-

mediaries (at least that which may have given rise to the 'Baudelairian' elements) may never have amounted to direct, formative encounters with the Frenchman's work; it may have remained on the level of hearsay. Another possibility is that the 'Baudelairian' elements of La copa owe their existence not to influences in the strict sense of the word but to Villaespesa's assimilation of thematic conventions and topoi originating largely in the work of Baudelaire and circulating freely in the enlightened ambiente of progressive Madrid literary circles around the turn of the century.

It is equally reasonable to suppose, however, that the 'Baudelairian' elements present in La copa owe nothing whatsoever to the Frenchman's influence, even in its most indirect form. The aspects which might be attributed to the influence of Baudelaire are also to be found in the work of writers who, in addition to not having incurred literary debts to Baudelaire, had influenced Villaespesa from an early stage and continued to provide a source of inspiration during the period when the poems of La copa were composed.

The suggestion that traces of Baudelairian influence are to be found in La copa, then, encounters opposition in the form of possible scenarios which, given the evidence, are equally plausible. The validity of these alternative explanations is supported by the existence of concrete examples of possible sources drawn from the work of writers who were likely to have exerted an influence upon Villaespesa at the time. Sumptuous sunsets akin to those depicted in La copa also form the backcloth for poetical scenarios in, for example, the verse of Bécquer: 'el sol besa a la nube en Occidente, / y de púrpura y oro la matiza' (33);

in that of Salvador Díaz Mirón:

> Como un rey oriental el sol expira
> envuelto en una púrpura que arde,
> se hunde en la sierra transformada en pira
> en medio de la gloria de la tarde
> . . . . . .
> Yo me vuelvo a mi cítara y la enfloro,
> y la pulso, y el son que arranco a ella
> se va, tinto en la púrpura y el oro
> del puesto sol, a la primera estrella
>
> (34)

and in that of Salvador Rueda, in a long poem entitled 'El crepúsculo' (PC, 405-07). Here can be found the same terminology as that used by Baudelaire and his descendants to evoke the visual glories and profound emotional impact of the sunset: 'crepúsculo de oro' (1.1), 'crepúsculo de fuego' (1.2), 'lánguidas violetas' (1.10), 'en púrpura teñidos' (1.13), 'forma de colores y ráfagas de incendio' (1.16), 'chorros de carmines' (1.19), 'círculos bermejos' (1.24), 'el rayo de oro' (1.25), 'vetéase de oro, de rosa, añil y negro' (1.30), 'Rojo simulacro' (1.53), 'La Gran misa de púrpura' (1.111), 'el confín de llamas' (1.126), 'prodigioso incendio' (1.130). Funereal décor, the iconography of the graveyard, a morbid preoccupation with death and the trappings of 'satanism' were epochal conventions, deriving, among other sources, from French Romantic and post-Romantic literature, but also from a indigenous tradition of lo negro. Tombs and cemeteries appear in the work of Bécquer and Reina. Funeral bells, ghosts and the imagery of decomposition reflect the death obsession of José

Asunción Silva, who Villaespesa also read; the whole poetry of Rueda abounds in carnivores chewing on the bones of the dead, vampire bats sucking blood, worms burrowing through decomposed bodies, owls, crows; events are set in graveyards and other sinister locations. One of the best examples of this tendency is the poem 'El crepúsculo' (PC, 405-07) mentioned above, in which the setting sun is compared to a rotting corpse:

> Podrido el rayo de oro que llena el horizonte
> como la muerte pudre los átomos de un cuerpo,
> eso es un descompuesto crepúsculo de tintas,
> cadáver que liquídase formando prismas bellos.
>
> (p. 405).

This is not to suggest, of course, that La copa does not on occasions capture the spirit of Baudelaire's work. Nevertheless, while the possibility of the Frenchman's influence cannot entirely be discounted, alternative sources of literary debt are not only more plausible but so numerous that, given Villaespesa's imitative facility, the likelihood of being able to prove a debt to Baudelaire is very slight indeed.

5. Poems 1898-1900

La copa del rey de Thule represents the zenith of Villaespesa's achievement within the context of the Spanish modernista movement. It is a collection which is considered to constitute the synthesis and to embody the quintessence of Peninsular modernismo and of Villaespesa's modernismo. For this reason, as well as for reasons of brevity, we will not proceed to investigate the question of Baudelaire's influence upon Villaespesa beyond this phase in the

Spaniard's literary career. Before concluding the present chapter, however, it is necessary to consider other poems which were written during the same period as those which were included in the original edition of La copa; for these compositions may also be considered to belong to the period during which Villaespesa produced his most authentic modernista work.

The poems which, in addition to those appearing in the original version of La copa, were written (according to the chronology of Mendizábal) between 1898 and 1900 fall into three groups. First, there are the verses included in the version of La copa published in the Poesías completas which did not figure in the original edition. Second, there are those grouped under the title of El alto de los bohemios, a collection which, according to Rafael Cansinos-Assens, stands alongside La copa as a centrepiece of Spanish modernismo (35). Third, there are the poems of La musa enferma, composed between 1899 and 1900.

The circumstances under which Villaespesa wrote these poems are, of course, the same as those which prevailed when he was composing the verses of the original edition of La copa. The external factors which condition the likelihood of Baudelairian influence and determine the extent to which it can be presented as a possibility are, consequently, also the same as those which apply in respect of La copa. There are, however, a number of intertextual similarities which recall Baudelairian sources somewhat more closely than those rapports de fait which are to be found in La copa itself.

One verse from 'A Juan R Jiménez' (PC, I, 125-27), brings to mind the 'Ménagerie infâme' of Baudelaire's 'Au lecteur' (OC, 43):

Las serpientes escarlatas de cabezas femeninas
el dogal de sus anillos enroscaron a tu cuello;
las panteras de la fiebre devoran tus entrañas;
con la sangre de tus venas se han nutrido los
murciélagos;
dando aullidos de alegría, en la arena del desierto,
han saciado sus feroces apetitas
con la carne corrompida de tus muertos
(p. 125).

The description, in 'Spoliarium' (PC, I, 139-40) of the bodies of suicides floating in a sea of blood while vampire bats slake their thirst and, more particularly, of hanging corpses swaying in the wind while flies buzz around and 'diabólicos perros negros' gorge themselves on the remains, recalls the sombre carnage of 'Un Voyage à Cythère' (OC, 117), and less directly 'Une Charogne' (OC, 58-59). 'Página gris' (PC, I, 132-33), with its 'cielo de plomo sobre un mar de ceniza' over which glides 'el bajel somnoliento del tedio' (p. 132) is reminiscent of the Spleenscape of 'Quand le ciel bas et lourd pèse comme un couvercle' (OC, 88), and the 'gouffres amers' of 'L'Albatros' (OC, 45). The eighth composition of the group of ten sonnets in La musa enferma begins with a quatrain that recalls sentiments expressed by Baudelaire, even if no precise formal resemblance exists with one particular source:

Muerte, en mis noches, di, ¿por qué no exhalas
el olvido letal de tu perfume?
¡Abriendo sobre mí sus negras alas,
el vampiro del tedio me consume!
(PC, I, 150).

The second sonnet of 'Noches de amor' in the same collection opens with lines reminiscent of 'La Chevelure' (OC, 56):

> Se sumergío la angustia de mi cuello
> en el sedoso mar de las tinieblas
> con que la noche de mi lecho pueblas
> al desatar tu trágico cabello
>
> (PC, I, 156).

Compare this quatrain with the following verse from Baudelaire's poem:

> O toison, moutonnant jusque sur l'encolure!
> O boucles! O parfum chargé de nonchaloir!
> Extase! Pour peupler ce soir l'alcôve obscure
> Des souvenirs dormant dans cette chevelure,
> Je la veux agiter dans l'air comme un mouchoir!

Finally, the stanza from 'El alto de los bohemios' (PC, I, 164-65) which reads as follows:

> Adustos bohemios, reyes andrajosos,
> que cruzáis del mundo los vastos confines,
> siempre pensativos, tristes y ojerosos,
> sollozando amores en vuestros violines . . .
>
> (p. 164)

recalls the image of the bohémien presented in Baudelaire's 'Bohémiens en voyage' (OC, 51).

Ultimately, however, it is impossible to determine whether or not these inter-textual similarities owe their existence to the direct influence of Baudelaire. In the first place, similarities

alone do not constitute proof of influence. Secondly, there is the question of possible alternative sources of influence. Villaespesa's penchant for carrion, for example, may be traced back to Salvador Rueda. In '¡INRI!' (PC, 20-22), we find images such as 'ya eres osamenta que roen los perros / que criaron tus mismas entrañas' (p. 20). In the course of the same poem, parasitic worms, flies, snakes, toads, lizards, vampires, ants, maggots, crows are all mentioned as participants in an extended metaphor of decay, destruction and decomposition. In 'El crepúsculo' (PC, 405-07) a comparable array of creatures claim their share of the carrion in a similar figurative construct. In addition to these sources, there is also Díaz Mirón's 'Ejemplo' (PC, 215), which describes a rotting corpse hanging from a tree.

Once again, then, reason advises prudence and acceptance that the question of Baudelaire's influence in the poems which Villaespesa composed during this period cannot be brought to a conclusive resolution.

III. CONCLUSION

It has not been possible, given the evidence examined, to conclude this chapter with a confident and unequivocal pronouncement in respect of whether or not Villaespesa incurred a literary debt to Baudelaire in the early years of his poetical career. That the margin of doubt which exists in respect of the issue must remain considerable is due not only to the inconclusive nature of the evidence itself, but also to the fact that in a study of the present kind, only a certain amount of attention may be devoted to each modernista. In the case of a poet like Villaespesa, who

read prolifically and imitated a great deal, it is impossible in the space available to take into account all of the sources which may have exerted an influence.

A tentative calculation of probabilities may, however, be made, with the result that the following conclusions may be formulated.

First, the likelihood that Villaespesa came to acquire first-hand knowledge of Baudelaire's work and, consequently, to be in a position to receive the Frenchman's direct influence is greater with regard to the period commencing with his first sojourn in Madrid. This possibility is even greater with regard to the subsequent period, during which he consolidated, built on and extended the range of contacts with progressive literary circles he had established during his first visit to the capital. Secondly, given the vast amount of superficial reading which Villaespesa undertook, particularly once he had established relations with Spanish American <u>modernistas</u>, and his propensity to imitation, it is highly probable that any direct influence exerted by Baudelaire would have been just one of many surface borrowings with no particular individual character. It is more feasible to assume, however, that the influence of Baudelaire, if any, would have reached Villaespesa indirectly through discussion or through his reading of the work of writers who had themselves received the Frenchman's influence.

NOTES

1. Antonio Sánchez Trigueros, Francisco Villaespesa y su primera obra poética (Universidad de Granada 1974), p. 14.

2. This quotation is taken from an article entitled 'Con la inmensa minoría' which appeared in El Sol on 10 May 1936. It was subsequently republished under the title of 'Recuerdo al primer Villaespesa' in La corriente infinita (Madrid: Aguilar 1961), pp. 63-75 (pp. 72-73).

3. Sanchez Trigueros, op. cit., p. 68.

4. This fact is recorded by Juan Ramón Jiménez, who referred in '"Mis" Rubén Darío' (La corriente infinita, pp. 47-52) to 'libros que pasaron al poder de Villaespesa' (p. 49).

5. PC, I, cxv-cxvi. Also patent in this reaction is the indignant defence of castizo values against corrupting influences from outside Spain. Such an attitude is representative of the period of establishment literary critics working in the cultural isolation which Spain experienced under Franco, particularly from the beginning of the dictadura to the late 1950s. One can observe here a return to an ideological standpoint and moral standards similar to those of the traditionalist critics of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

6. Op. cit., p. 67.

7. Federico Mendizábal records in his introduction to the Poesías completas that Villaespesa's translation of Hernani was first performed at the Teatro Español in Madrid (I, cxc). The plays of de Musset which the poet intended to translate were Bettine, La Nuit vénitienne, Lorenzaccio and L'Ane et le ruisseau (PC, I, cxci).

8. A Literary History of Spain. The Twentieth Century (London: Ernest Benn 1972), pp. 67-68.

9. Op. cit., pp. 70-71.

10. Sánchez Trigueros, op. cit., p. 64.

11. Op. cit., p. 69.

12. Los estilos poéticos en España desde 1900, versión española de Angel San Miguel (Madrid: Gredos 1973), p. 23.

13. Sánchez Trigueros, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

14. Ibid., p. 89.

15. Op. cit., p. 71.

16. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

17. The following allusions to authors or their works are taken from poems published between 1900 and 1910:

> Sobre un cisne de alas negras, ¡oh Lohengrin misterioso ...
> deshojando la armonía de encantado florilegio
>
> 'A Juan R. Jiménez', La copa del rey de Thule (PC, I, 125-27 [p. 125]).

> Es otra señorita de Maupín. Es viciosa
> y frágil como aquella imagen del placer,
> que en la elegancia rítmica de su sonora prosa
> nos dibujó la pluma de Teófilo Gautier
>
> 'Ensueño de opio', La copa del rey de Thule (PC, I, 130-31 [p. 130]).

> Dos labios están rimando
> la leyenda Sheskpiriana [sic]
>
> 'En el viejo mesón', Tristitiae rerum (PC, I, 447-48 [p. 448]).

> Tú en mis brazos has sido Julieta,
> yo en tus brazos he sido Romeo
> . . . . . .
> ¿No te acuerdas mi pálida Ofelia?
> . . . . . .
> tú escuchabas a Hamlet sombrío
> . . . . . .
> ¿No has mirado en mis ojos, Desdémona,
> fulgurar las pupilas de Otelo?
>
> 'Romántica', Tristitiae rerum (PC, I, 452-53).

> los lieders dolorosos de Heine,
> de Musset las nocturnas quimeras,
> de Leopardi la inmensa amargura
> y de Bécquer las dulces tristezas.
> . . . . . .
> de Beethoven la inmensa poesía,
> de Mendelsshon las vagas tristezas
> y del pobre Chopin y de Schubert
> melancólica música enferma.

'Las palomas dispersas' VII, Saudades (PC, I, 743-45 [p. 744]).

Como Werther, dejar abandonado
en la cumbre del monte mi sombrero

III, Bajo la lluvia (PC, I, 893-94 [p. 893]).

In addition to these references to writers and works within poems themselves, dedications appear in abundance throughout the early work of Villaespesa.

18. This is also the title of an article by the critic Ricardo Gullón (Insula, no. 462 [May 1985] , p. 1) which discusses the relevance of extra-textual evidence to elucidation of the text itself.

19. Quoted in Sánchez Trigueros, Op. cit., p. 51-52.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., p. 24.

22. La vida inquieta, edited by R. A. Cardwell, Exeter Hispanic Texts XX (University of Exeter 1978), pp. 18, 28 & 29.

23. Rimas y Leyendas (Madrid: J. Pérez del Hoyo 1972), pp. 14 & 45.

24. See 'A Jarifa en una orgia' OC, 214-18 (p. 216). This poem appears to have provided the inspiration for verses by Villaespesa on a number of occasions (inasmuch as inter-textual similarities can be deemed to provide a reliable basis on which to argue the possibility of influence), which would indicate that Villaespesa responded primarily to the intimate, lyrical aspect of Espronceda's verse, while remaining largely impervious to the influence of the political or civic poetry.

25. Ibid.

26. Op. cit., pp. 8-11 (p. 10).

27. Rimas LXI and LXVI, Op. cit., pp. 50-51 (p. 51), 53.

28. For an account of Gómez Carrillo's role in the diffusion of French aesthetic ideas around the turn of the century, see the fourth chapter of the second part of the present study. The contributions of González de Candamo and González Blanco to Helios, which are discussed in the same chapter, reveal more than a passing knowledge of contemporary French literature and the mid-century sources whence it derived.

29. Dedications to writers such as Luciano Aneiros Pazos ('La muerte de Lucano', PC, I, 76) provide an indication that Villaespesa had already begun to look beyond Spain to Hispanoamerica in his quest for fellow luchadores.

30. Precise thematic comparisons with the work of a number of these poets will be made with regard to La copa del rey de Thule and the other poems composed between 1898 and 1900. The list of poets named here is not intended to be exhaustive, but merely to present a representative selection of those writers whom evidence indicates were Villaespesa's principal sources of inspiration.

31. See Sánchez Trigueros, op. cit., p. 96.

32. 'Villaespesa devoraba la literatura hispanoamericana, prosa y verso. No sé de dónde sacaba los libros. Es verdad que mantenía correspondencia con todos los poetas y prosistas hispanoamericanos, modernistas o no' (La corriente infinita, p. 70).

33. Rima IX, op. cit., p. 22.

34. 'Umbra' 1 (PC, 135-36 [p. 135]), 'Idilio' (PC, 231-38 [p. 232]).

35. See Rafael Cansinos Assens, La nueva literatura (Madrid: Sáenz Calleja [1917]), p. 130.

C H A P T E R F O U R

'Influencias de un Baudelaire pasado por Verlaine hay en otro poeta españolísimo. Manuel Machado, que hereda de ellos el desgarramiento, la elegancia y la dureza verbalista aclimatada a su Andalucía y a su espíritu elegante y decadente'.

César González Ruano, Baudelaire, fourth edition (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1958), p. 226.

I KNOWLEDGE OF BAUDELAIRE

Unequivocal borrowings and imitations, allusions, translations and the testimony of contemporaries exist to allay any reservations as to whether Manuel Machado was acquainted with the poetry of Paul Verlaine (1). Precious little evidence exists to suggest the same in respect of Baudelaire. The copy of Les Fleurs du Mal preserved in Machado's library proves, ironically, of no use whatsoever in determining the Spanish poet's familiarity with Baudelaire's work in the early years of his literary career, for it is a 1930 edition of the poems (2). The few critical pronouncements which have been made in respect of this question are of doubtful merit. Gillian Gayton, for example, refers in her study Manuel Machado y los poetas simbolistas franceses (Valencia 1975) to 'la clara evidencia de que Machado conocía a fondo la poesía de Baudelaire' (p. 11), but conveniently omits to mention what this indisputable proof comprises and where it is to be found. Consequently, one is forced to rely almost exclusively on the dubious testimony of textual similarities - which, of course, must be proven to represent influences before they can be taken to indicate knowledge of Baudelaire's work - or circumstantial evidence which ultimately provides only a vague indication of the extent to which Manuel Machado was familiar with the Frenchman's writings. It is evidence of this kind, however, which provides the strongest grounds for a positive hypothesis. The period which Machado spent working in Paris as a translator with the house of Garnier would obviously have provided an ideal opportunity to discover Baudelaire or to further existing knowledge of

the poet's works if he had been so inclined. Juan Ramón Jiménez, a contemporary and therefore a reliable witness, confirms that Manuel Machado took appropriate advantage of these circumstances when he suggests that he and the Machado brothers were instrumental in introducing French Symbolist ideas to Spain. The writers who most caught their attention were 'Verlaine, Mallarmé, Laforgue, Samain, Moréas, que los Machados [sic] y El Retraído [Jiménez] se han encontrado en sus viajes a Francia. Y sobre todo, Baudelaire' (3). Other evidence suggests, however, that Manuel Machado knew of Baudelaire even before he set off for Paris in March 1899. Gillian Gayton declares somewhat boldly that '[n]o cabe duda . . . que Machado había oído hablar de la poesía de Verlaine antes de marchar a París. Asimismo es probable que supiera algo de los poetas parnasianos y de Baudelaire' (p. 16). Miguel Pérez Ferrero, the Machades' biographer, corroborates this affirmation with an equally unsubstantiated claim. In Vida de Antonio Machado y Manuel (3ª ed., Madrid 1973), he reveals that the Machado brothers awaited the opportunity to spend some time in France with considerable eagerness, since '[h]asta los Machado han llegado los ecos de los simbolistas, parnasianos e impresionistas, y les acucia el deseo de conocer a fondo estos movimientos literarios' (p. 53). These declarations find support in further circumstantial evidence. The possibility that both of the Machados knew of Baudelaire's work prior to their stay in France is endorsed by the fact that they lived in Madrid and moved in progressive literary cireles favourably disposed towards and showing a lively interest in contemporary French literature and the work of writers from which it had developed. They were in close contact

with writers such as Antonio de Zayas, 'traductor de Los trofeos, de José María Heredia, y uno de los introductores de la poesía parnasiana y del Simbolismo en España' (4). They also knew Francisco de Icaza, who, as R. A. Cardwell has demonstrated, had already begun to use Symbolist techniques (5). Through their association, dating from 1895, with Enrique Paradas, they came to make the acquaintance of Manuel Sawa, whose brother Alejandro was resident in Paris at the time. He was to return to Spain in 1898, 'hablando', as Manuel Machado himself recounts, 'de parnasianismo y simbolismo y recitando por la primera vez en Madrid versos de Verlaine' (6).

II EXISTING OPINION CONCERNING INFLUENCES

Just as there has been a tendency among critics to assume that Machado was familiar with Baudelaire's work, so existing opinion regarding his debt to Baudelaire has come to consist largely of claims unaccompanied by an exposé of factual proof. This leads one to believe that critics have been somewhat over-generous in attributing similarities which they have encountered to Baudelairian influence. While it would be incorrect to suggest that resemblances which could well be explained in terms of influence do not exist, existing material has displayed a tendency to overrate the significance of vague resemblances and to mistake period commonplaces for exclusive similarities. Declarations such as that made by Gordon Brotherston in his Manuel Machado. A revaluation (CUP 1968) to the effect that the poems of Alma 'show clearly the large extent to which he [Machado] was influenced by writers he had met, and by a whole range of French poets from the Parnassians to the Symbolists' (p. 28),

brings an uncharacteristically brash note to an otherwise stimulating reappraisal of Machado's work, and provides a lamentable but poignant illustration of how inter-textual resemblances themselves, when not treated with due respect, can hinder the formulation of reasonable, justifiable conclusions regarding influences. The same can be said in respect of the study by Gillian Gayton cited above. Her search for sources represents an assiduous and vigorous effort of scholarship, but the effect of the work is marred by her insistence on treating the impressive array of similarities discovered as manifestations of influence, without attempting to demonstrate that this is the case. This illustrates the danger, inherent in comparative studies, of presenting too deterministic an interpretation of how creative works come into being.

Existing critical material, then, has failed to take into account that textual similarities provide evidence for two methodological approaches - causal influence, which seeks to elucidate the real origins of such resemblances, and the search for patterns of aesthetic ideas, which simply traces how trends develop - which are prone to become confused when they converge. The ease with which over-optimistic pronouncements in respect of influence proper tend to be made when this happens, and particularly when no external or conclusive evidence exists to support such a hypothesis, make it imperative that an attempt to determine Machado's debt to Baudelaire should recognise how far the evidence justifies speaking of influences.

III ALMA, CAPRICHOS, AND THE 1907 ADDITIONS

1. Alma

Many of the similarities which have been detected between the poems of Alma and poems by Baudelaire provide an insufficient basis upon which to argue influence. The resemblances are either insufficiently close to the original to justify consideration as such, or are commonplaces of Romantic and post-Romantic poetry which, without external evidence, it would be unrealistic to attribute specifically to Baudelaire. Discussion will therefore limit itself to those instances in which the degree of resemblance is such that a reasonable case for the possibility of influence may be advanced. We refer here to similarities which recall not general but particular aspects of Baudelaire's work, such as choice of lexis and imagery, and the componential composition of poems. It is hoped that by including in this category some of the similarities which critics have already assumed to be examples of influence purely because an intertextual resemblance can be discerned, the validity of existing critical assumptions can at least be questioned, even if no conclusive proof is forthcoming.

The parallels which exist between 'El reino interior' (OC, 14-15) and 'Chant d'automne' (OC, 74) seem to have escaped the notice of Machado's critical commentators. The theme of both poems is ostensibly, Winter. It readily becomes apparent, however, that, as Machado's title suggests and the line from Baudelaire's poem: 'Tout l'hiver va rentrer dans mon être' confirms, the winter alluded to is a season of the soul as much as of the calendar year. Winter, then, acquires a symbolic value in these poems. In both 'El reino interior' and 'Chant d'automne', a very similar image is used to evoke the poet's sense of apprehen-

sion and trepidation as he feels the approach of the fatal season. It involves the preparation of firewood, a typical but nonetheless evocative correlative for the approach of winter. In each case, the sounds involved acquire, menacing doom-laden connotations. In Machado's poem, attention is drawn to the dull thud of the axe in dead tree-trunks:

> . . . fuera, el hacha
> el tronco seco hiende.

In 'Chant d' automne', the poet is mortified by the rumble of logs as they are unloaded on to the pavé:

> J'entends déjà tomber avec des chocs funébres
> Le bois retentissant sur le pavé des cours.
> . . . . . .
> J'écoute en frémissant chaque bûche qui tombe.

In each case the sound devoid of resonance has a sombre ring of finality about it. It suggests the death of illusions, of hope, and the onset of avid despair. Faced with this intolerable prospect, the poets turn to love for consolation. Here once again, close formal echoes unite the two poems, this time in the imperatives with which each poet exhorts his beloved to console him. Machado's '¡quiéreme!' embodies the same desire to escape into the comfort of sensual embraces as Baudelaire's 'Et pourtant aimez-moi, tendre coeur!' The parallel extends even to the poets' formula for solace. Each seeks a blend of eroticism and the innocent, asexual emotional support which a child seeks of its mother or sister. The invitation to sexual activity combines with atavistic retrogression in Baudelaire's plea to

produce a kind of décadent verbal foreplay

. . . soyez mère,
Même pour un ingrat, même pour un méchant;
Amante ou soeur, soyez la douceur éphémère
D'un glorieux automne ou d'un soleil couchant.

While Machado adopts a tone of childlike melancholy - 'Seamos amigos', '¡Dios no nos quiere!' - as a prelude to plucking the only Summer flower which survives to be enjoyed: his mistress's 'rojos labios'.

Similarities are also to be discerned between 'Secretos (Antífona)' (OC, 19) and 'Confession' (OC, 68), and once again the degree of resemblance is sufficient to consider influence among the possible explanations for their existence. Both poems treat the theme of fated existences, of tragic vocations with which the poets feel a deep affinity. In 'Secretos', Machado adopts the vocative mode to declare the solidarity of the poet and the prostitute, while in 'Confession' Baudelaire recalls the occasion when his usually vivacious companion, a beautiful dancer, revealed the tragic secret of her life. Although this was a common enough theme in late nineteenth century poetry, and although each poet chooses a different situational medium through which to convey the desired impression, a close correspondence exists between the aspects of the theme to which greatest emphasis is given.

In the first place, both poets make the point that the true reward for sacrifice is not love and admiration, but hate, scorn or indifference:

. . . Yo sé que los mismos que nos adoran
en el fondo nos guardan igual desprecio

laments Machado, echoing the bitter pessimism of Baudelaire's observation that

> . . . toujours avec quelque soin qu'il se farde,
> Se trahit l'égoisme humain.

Martyrs of this kind are forced to despoil and debase themselves for the enjoyment of a world which they hate, in order to survive. Baudelaire's danseuse conceives of her work as an act of enforced self-abnegation:

> Que c'est un dur métier d'être belle femme,
> Et que c'est le travail banal
> De la danseuse folle et froide qui se pâme
> Dans un sourire machinal.

Likewise Manuel Machado's hetaira, whose fate, the poem clarifies, is akin to that of the poet:

> Así los dos: tú amores; yo poesía
> damos por oro a un mundo que despreciamos . . .
> ¡Tú, tu cuerpo de diosa; yo, el alma mía! . . .
> Ven y reiremos juntos mientras lloramos.

Finally, both poems express the notion that oblivion will eventually swallow up the ideals out of which they have forged their existence. The disillusionment of Baudelaire's danseuse is total:

> Que tout craque, amour et beauté,
> Jusqu'à ce que l'Oubli les jette dans sa hotte
> Pour les rendre à l'Éternité!

While Machado's poet narrator concludes philosophically that

Igual camino en suerte nos ha cabido,
una ansia igual nos lleva que no se agota,
hasta que se confunden en el olvido
tu hermosura podrida, mi lira rota.

2. Caprichos

A close thematic parity exists between Machado's 'Intermezzo' (OC, 59) and 'La Muse Malade' (OC, 49), although the perspective adopted in each case is somewhat different. Just as Machado explains that the creative urge cannot truly flourish until the poet's spirit is healthy and infused with the spirit of rebirth and growth - 'cuando/brote en mi corazón la primavera' - so Baudelaire, from the converse point of view, laments the inability to write because his creative spirit is ailing. The image which both poets employ to evoke the resurgence of spiritual force which would make creativity possible is that of rhythmically circulating blood. Herein resides the most concrete similarity between the two poems and the most reliable grounds on which to postulate the possibility of influence. Baudelaire wishes for his muse that 'ton sang chrétien coulât à flots rhythmiques', while Machado awaits the time when his life will be filled with joyful serenity, so that he can put forth

una canción de paz y amor, al ritmo
de la sangre que corre por las venas.

Similarities are also sufficient to suggest the possibility of influence in 'La voz que dice' (OC, 57), which recalls 'Recueillement' (OC, 101). Here the 'voice' of which Machado speaks symbolises that of serenity imposing itself after a protracted

period of suffering. The poet's anguish is personalised ('pobre peregrino', 'ma Douleur'), and invited to rest by the consoling spirit of tranquility ('Dame la mano', 'Donne-moi la main'). Respite comes not in the form of the absence of grief, but through its transformation into a less exasperated state. Avid despair is replaced by sweet sorrow ('la triste alegría', 'le Regret souriant'), the état d'âme characteristic of the sunset hour ('la divina hora de la tarde violada', 'le soleil moribond'), when suffering acquires a tragic, less harsh quality and solace is still tempered by the presence of a certain melancholy. In this respect, both poems are typical of Romanticism and its legacy to the Symbolist-décadent sensibility.

3. The 1907 additions

In these poems there is a marked increase in the number of close formal resemblances to Baudelaire poems. This coincides in part with the emergence of an increased note of despair, one which prefigures in a number of ways the tone of El mal poema. The idea that some of these poems may be considered to represent a stage of transition towards the kind of poetry of El mal poema, finds support in the fact that in the compilation of Machado's collections of poetry after 1910 some of the poems added to his existing work in 1907 were transferred to the book which appeared in 1909.

'La lluvia' (OC, 58) bears an epigraph from Verlaine: 'Il pleure dans mon coeur/Comme il pleut sur la ville'. Yet the poem is thematically closer to Baudelaire. The line 'De todo, ¿qué me ha quedado?' echoes, as Gayton points out in Manuel Machado, (p. 106),

these lines from 'Le portrait' (OC, 64):

> De ces baisers puissants comme un dictame,
> De ces transports plus vifs que des rayons,
> Que reste-t-il?

Indeed the whole spirit of the poem, and its theme - a lament on lost love - is more readily associable with that of 'Un Fantôme', of which 'Le Portrait' is the fourth poem, than Verlaine's poem from Romances sans paroles.

Several aspects of 'Sé buena' (OC, 64), recalls Baudelaire's 'Sonnet d'automne' (OC, 80), and 'Chant d'automne'. The command 'Sé buena' recalls the imperatives 'Sois charmante et tais-toi' from the former of the Frenchman's poems, as well as 'Sois belle! et sois triste!' from 'Madrigal triste' (OC, 76). 'Sé mi amante y mi hermana' reflects Baudelaire's exhortation in 'Chant d'automne' that his companion should console him both physically and emotionally. In the second sonnet of 'Sé buena', the clarity of the beloved's eyes features as a striking image ('Una mañana/limpia y azul - como tus ojos') as it does in 'Sonnet d'automne' ('tes yeux, clairs comme le cristal'). These poems also refer to the fragile recovery of love after a period of emotional strife. Machado speaks of 'una dulce convalecencia', and Baudelaire of '[l]' Amour dans sa guérite'. Gillian Gayton has also detected the influence of 'Sonnet d'automne' and other poems by Baudelaire in 'Ultima' (OC, 86):

> La compasión de sí mismo recuerda la de 'L'Ennemi' de Baudelaire, poema en que el verso 'Ma jeunesse ne fut qu'un ténébreux orage' es semejante a la 'juventud podrida' de Machado. 'Irremediable' es un vocablo muy baudelairiano, y el verso de 'Ultima': 'Tú, calla. ¡Tu boca es sólo para besar!'

> corresponde a 'Sois-charmant [sic] et tais-toi' de 'Sonnet d'automne' (p. 112).

'Invierno' (OC, 84) and '¡Paz!' (OC, 85), both of which were subsequently incorporated into El mal poema, express a sense of exasperation which comes near to the tone of the four 'Spleen' poems, as well as 'Le Gouffre' and 'Le Goût du Néant' (OC, 90). In both 'Invierno' and '¡Paz!', the poet longs for a respite in an existence which has become characterised by a perpetual struggle:

> ¡Oh la crueldad y el mal y la fatiga
> de luchar sin cuartel, y las mortales
> heridas a traición, las puñaladas
> de que no brota sangre! . . .
> ('Invierno')
>
> . . . . . .
>
> ¡Qué harto estoy de luchar! . . . Tirar a un lado
> el puñal y el revólver y la espada,
> y el mentir, y las uñas aceradas,
> y la sonrisa falsa y el veneno
> ('Paz').

The same sentiment of demoralisation and sense of emotional defeat is described in 'Le Goût du Néant'

> Morne esprit, autrefois amoureux de la lutte,
> L'Espoir, dont l'éperon attaisait ton ardeur,
> Ne vent plus t'enfourcher.

While such sentiments are Romantic and post-Romantic commonplaces, which therefore give little reason to presuppose the possibility of influence, attention should be drawn to unmistakeable echoes of imagery which occur in the course of their formulation.

Machado's juxtaposition of the terms 'puñal' and 'veneno' in '¡Paz!' recalls, as Gillian Gayton rightly indicates, 'le poison, le poignard', which figure among man's accomplices in his inevitable spiritual degradation in 'Au lecteur' (OC, 43), and which reappear in 'Madrigal triste', where the poet, in the embrace of 'l'irrésistible dégoût', lives

> . . . un cauchemar sans trêves,
> Songeant de poisons et de glaives,
> Eprise de poudre et de fer,
>
> N'ouvrant à chacun qu'avec crainte,
> Déchiffrant le malheur partout,
> Te convulsant quand l'heure tinte

Also featuring as instruments of destruction in '¡Paz!' are 'las uñas aceradas', a vivid image echoed exactly in 'les ongles acérées' of 'Duellum' (OC, 63).

4. Conclusion

When assessing Baudelaire's influence in Alma, Caprichos and the 1907 additions, chronology is only significant inasmuch as extra-textual evidence can be considered to provide a reliable indication of how Machado's knowledge of and response to Baudelaire's work evolved. Such evidence might lead one to infer, for instance, that Machado's period of residence in France, which coincided with the preparation of Alma, led to intensified contact with French literature. This, it might be argued, would necessarily have increased the likelihood of Baudelaire's influence. By the same token, Caprichos could be considered to be the product of a period by when, as far as circumstantial evidence permits one to speculate,

Machado would have acquired a reasonably extensive familiarity with Baudelaire's work. This might lead one to infer that some of the more memorable aspects of Machado's reading experience could well have left their trace in his poetic compositions. The 1907 poems, for their part, are said to prefigure the aesthetics and sensibility of El mal poema to a not insignificant degree. Since, as we shall see, critics have presupposed this collection to have been conceived largely under the influence of Baudelaire, it might be assumed that the same could be said of the 1907 poems. Rationalisation of this order should, however, be treated with extreme caution. In the first place, the evidence on which they rest is itself composed largely of assumptions. It is impossible to establish when Machado first became acquainted with Baudelaire's work and the extent of the degree of familiarity which he eventually acquired with any degree of certainty, and the belief that the French poet influenced El mal poema, is, as we shall see, somewhat open to question. Even if such assumptions were reliable, however, there can be no guarantee that the influences which they may be taken to presuppose, would have manifested themselves in such a way as to permit detection. The only suitable evidence upon which to postulate the possibility of Baudelairian influence in the early work of Manuel Machado resides, then, in the inter-textual similarities which have been identified above. Since the form which these resemblances take - the form of a similarity providing the grounds upon which the possibility of influence can be postulated - is basically the same in Alma, Caprichos and the 1907 poems, these three groups of poems can be treated as a homogeneous unit.

The similarities with Baudelaire poems detectable in Alma, Caprichos and the 1907 additions each involve a general thematic parallel, within which can be observed further, more precise resemblances. The broad similarities of theme alone do not provide a sufficient basis upon which to suggest the possibility of an influence having taken place. The themes in question were all commonplaces of late nineteenth-century poetry, which not only precludes the possibility of pinpointing a debt to one poet in particular, but also raises a question mark as to whether influence in such a precise sense occurred in the first place. Neither should it be overlooked at this juncture that factors other than direct influence exist to explain the presence of these resemblances. It is not unnecessary to look beyond Machado's own experience, sensibility and creative imagination to encounter a satisfactory explanation for the existence of these elements, particularly if such factors are seen in conjunction with the milieu in which Machado moved and the spiritual climate of the times. It is on the strength of the more precise similarities, with their greater degree of resemblance, then, that the possibility of influence can be entertained. Furthermore, the general thematic similarities which link Machado's poems with those of Baudelaire only acquire significance as far as the question of Baudelairian influence is concerned by virtue of the more precise resemblances which exist within their general framework. Even these precise resemblances, however, only allow us to consider the possibility of an influence having occurred. Where no absolute factual proof exists to verify hypotheses and to allow the formulation of conclusive statements, there can be no guarantee that a similar-

ity, however close, is not purely coincidental. The value of these precise similarities lies, then, in how far they serve to advance the possibility of influence into the realm of probability.

The extent to which an influence can be considered to be likely rather than just possible depends upon the strength of the hypothesis which the evidence for influence will support. To speak of the possibility of influence rather than simply influence presupposes that factors other than influence could account for the presence of similarities of the type encountered. By the same token, the likelihood of an influence having occurred increases or decreases in direct proportion to the extent to which alternative explanations have to be entertained or can be discounted. The key factor in this respect, and the cornerstone upon which the case for influence must rest, is the degree of resemblance displayed by any one similarity. This criterion makes it necessary to divide the more precise similarities with Baudelaire poems in Alma, Caprichos and the 1907 poems into two categories. On the one hand, there are close thematic parallels, such as those which exist between 'Secretos' and 'Confession'. On the other hand, there are similarities whose resemblance resides in their very form or structure. These constitute, generally speaking, a more reliable indication of influence, since they reflect the supposed source in far less equivocal terms. Here, it is convenient to sub-divide the evidence once more into structural echoes ('Dame la mano' ['La voz que dice'] and 'Donne-moi la main' ['Recueillement'] ; 'al ritmo de la sangre que corre por las venas' ['Intermezzo'] and 'que ton sang chrétien coulât à flots rhythmiques' ['La Muse malade']), repetitions of imagery

(the thud of axe on log in 'El reino interior' and the thud of log on pavé in 'Chant d'automne'), and precise lexical echoes ('uñas aceradas' ['¡Paz!'] and 'ongles acérées' ['Duellum'] ; 'el puñal . . . y el veneno' ['¡Paz!'] and 'le poison, le poignard' ['Au lecteur'] , as well as 'poisons et . . . glaives' ['Madrigal triste'] ; 'triste alegría' ['La voz que dice'] and 'le regret souriant' ['Recueillement']).

The general value of each similarity, however, is modified according to the circumstances of the particular context in which it appears. It might be argued, for example, that although the points of contact between 'Secretos' and 'Confession' are less precise than those which link 'La voz que dice' to 'Recueillement' or 'Intermezzo' to 'La Muse malade', the fact that there are at least three of them, compensates for the lack of physical echoes. This is a valid consideration, yet its significance must be weighed against the fact that any one theme, especially when it is part of the common intellectual and spiritual currency of a generation, presupposes a basic finite corpus of constituent aspects or components from which each writer can draw. The possibility of not attributing even close parallels to coincidence is thereby reduced. Another example involves the 'firewood' image in 'El reino interior' and 'Chant d'automne'. When these two texts are compared in isolation, it seems quite extraordinary that Baudelaire and Machado should have had recourse to virtually the same image and that in each case its symbolic value was almost identical. One is therefore tempted to posit influence as an explanation for its presence in 'El reino interior'. If, however, one reconsiders the similarity in the light of the

empirical source from which the imagery of both poems was drawn - a sombre Autumn day heralding the approach of Winter -, an alternative explanation for the presence of the metaphorical construct in question suggests itself. In the first place, the sound of firewood being prepared or delivered is a sufficiently common component of human experience during the cold months of the year (or certainly it would have been at the end of the nineteenth century) to make influence a less than necessary condition for the existence of the phrase 'el hacha/el tronco seco hiende'. Moreover, the dull thud of an axe in dead wood readily acquires sombre overtones, and therefore offers itself as an evocative correlative for a sense of apprehension or disillusion in a context where Winter is equated with spiritual disquiet (7). The similarity between the term 'la triste alegría' ('La voz que dice') and 'le Regret souriant' ('Recueillement') also merits reconsideration in the light of factors other than the degree of resemblance. The sentiment designated by these terms falls within the range of general emotional experience of mankind, or at least Western man, and happened to figure particularly prominently among the <u>états d'âme</u> characteristic of Romantic and post-Romantic poetic sensibility. Furthermore, the use of antithesis, wherein the essential resemblance between Baudelaire and Machado's terms may be seen to lie, is in fact the standard formula for expressing this convergence of opposing sentiments, as the English term 'sweet sorrow' serves to illustrate.

This is a convenient juncture at which to suspend examination of Baudelairian echoes in <u>Alma</u>, <u>Caprichos</u> and the 1907 poems. There is little point in trying the reader's patience any further

with more hypotheses and counter-hypotheses when the examples of inter-textual similarities examined above provide a sufficient basis upon which to formulate all the conclusions which require to be drawn at this stage. The first and most fundamental deduction to be made is that the evidence of the kind existing in Alma, Caprichos and the 1907 additions does not allow influence either to be proved or disproved. The readiness with which any suggestion of influence can be countered by an alternative explanation demonstrates only too well that where no evidence exists other than inter-textual similarities, the influence argument is almost always condemned to remain within the realm of hypothesis. The best that can be done under such circumstances is to clarify the issue of possibility or probability of influence, by documenting as fully as possible the facts for and against considering the similarities as influence. In this way, the case for influence can be presented cogently even if no absolute decision can ultimately be reached. Herein, of course, lies one of the major stumbling blocks facing such an approach. The mere enumeration of reasons for and against influence risks being seen as a somewhat futile and inconsequential pursuit. This, however, is not a problem of methodology but of attitudes. The prevalent tendency to couch pronouncements regarding influence in terms which all too frequently impart an unjustifiably conclusive tone to the proceedings, has conditioned students of comparative literature to expect both to find and to be able to make definitive declarations in the matter of influences.

Given that the evidence of Baudelaire's influence on Machado precludes a conclusive response to the matter, the only admissible

alternative is to remain strictly within the realms of the hypothetical, and to deduce what the similarities in Alma, Caprichos and the 1907 poems would reveal concerning the nature and extent of Machado's debt to Baudelaire if it had been possible to prove them to be the results of influence. In this case, one might venture to suggest that although, were this so the Spaniard most probably would have conceived of the poems himself either as a result of his own experiences or through his receptivity to themes, motifs or topoi characteristic of the epoch, he may have borrowed certain concrete aspects of Baudelaire's works and incorporated them directly or indirectly into his own compositions. The extent to which these borrowings were conscious still remains impossible to determine.

IV EL MAL POEMA

1. Traditions of urban poetry

It has become customary to speak of Baudelaire's influence in Manuel Machado above all with reference to El mal poema (1909). The origin of this assumption resides primarily in the Spaniard's treatment of urban themes, which critics have been quick to see in relation to Baudelaire's 'city' poetry and the concept of modernité in general. 'No es de extrañar', generalises Gillian Gayton on the strength of observations made in respect of 'Domingo' (OC, 65), 'que Machado haya sido influido por Baudelaire en cuanto a su poesía de la vida urbana. Era el poeta francés el primero y el mejor cantante de la ciudad' (Manuel Machado, p. 123). 'Yo, poeta decadente' (OC, 78), a poem which synthesises the spirit of the collection, is described by the same critic as 'un resumen de

los temas de toda la poesía francesa moderna sobre la ciudad, desde la de Baudelaire hasta la de Corbière' (p. 133). Finally, Gayton declares that while Machado obviously needed no other source than his own experience in order to conceive of his 'city' poems, 'está claro que sus lecturas influyeron en su experiencia, de modo que vio la ciudad en los mismos términos que los escritores franceses a quienes admiraba' (p. 137). More recently, Allen W. Phillips has endorsed the belief that El mal poema embodies a debt to Baudelaire, declaring, albeit somewhat tentatively, that 'without wishing to take anything away from Machado, I feel everywhere, though it might be hard to pinpoint concrete examples, the presence of Baudelaire and certainly of Laforgue' (8).

While the suggestion that a geneological relationship exists between Baudelaire's 'city' poetry and Machado's El mal poema and other urban poems is not implausible, critics may be guilty of oversimplifying somewhat the nature of this relationship, and of being too confident in their assumption of influence. Gordon Brotherston, who acknowledges that the novelty of Machado's poems resided in their treatment of urban subject matter and accepted the possibility of Baudelairian influence, nevertheless urges that an indigenous tradition of urban poetry - that exemplified in the work of Antonio Casero and López Silva - should also be considered a viable antecedent (Manuel Machado. A Revaluation, (p. 37n). The idea that Machado must have been guided exclusively by French models is also open to question. Urban themes, in particular the low-life of the metropolis - el hampa madrileña -, had already provided as rich a field of exploration for writers such as Baroja as it had for social psychologists like Ricardo

Mella (9). Furthermore, no serious attempt has yet been undertaken to compare both Baudelaire and Machado's conceptions of 'city' poetry, or their respective approaches to the treatment of modern urban existence as a subject for poetry. It is to this issue which enquiry would most profitably be directed.

2. Art, the city and urban man

Both Baudelaire and Machado sought to make poetry out of the city life in which they were immersed. Yet how far were their aesthetic aims compatible? The essence of Baudelaire's intentions is expressed in the 'Projet d'epilogue pour la seconde édition des Fleurs du Mal', where he declares that 'tu m'as donné ta boue et j'en ai fait de l'or' (OC, 129), for it demonstrates clearly how he was attempting to transform the trivial, daily, sordid reality through which he moved into artistic beauty. What he proposed in his poetry was, as this pronouncement indicates, an artistic alchemy. This aspiration, which owed its existence to his ability to perceive beauty in that which apparently, and according to the tenets of academy art, had none. 'La vie parisienne', he remarks in the Salon de 1846, 'est féconde en sujets poétiques et merveilleux. Le merveilleux nous enveloppe et nous abreuve comme l'atmosphère; mais nous ne le voyons pas' (OC, 260). The modern city, then, was a source of that fascinating sense of perpetual and intellectual stimulation which comprised beauty as Baudelaire redefined it:

> Dans les plis sinueux des vieilles capitales,
> Où tout, même l'horreur, tourne aux enchantements,
> Je guette, obéissant à mes humeurs fatales,
> Des êtres singuliers, décrépits et charmants.
> ('Les petites vieilles', OC, 98).

Baudelaire's ability to discern a strange and tragic beauty in bizarre fauna of the metropolis was just one manifestation of the sensibility from which he formulated the aesthetics of modernité. The two cornerstones of this artistic philosophy were the concept of 'le beau moderne' and the idea of the heroism of modern life. Baudelaire believed that 'notre époque n'est pas moins féconde que les anciennes en motifs sublimes', and that 'puisque tous les siècles et tous les peuples ont eu leur beauté, nous avons inévitablement la nôtre' (OC, 259). He also discerned that behind the façade of materialism and squalor of daily existence there lay an epic quality which it was art's duty to uncover:

> Le spectacle de la vie élégante et des milliers d'existences flottantes qui circulent dans les souterrains d'une grande ville - criminels et filles entretenues, - la Gazette des Tribunaux et le Moniteur nous prouvent que nous n'avons qu'à ouvrir les yeux pour connaître notre héroisme (OC, 260).

Baudelaire's aims, then, were related to extracting the sublime and the epic from the sordid and trivial. In a manner of speaking, he took life, the realm of ugliness, stress and banality, to art, the realm of beauty. When we turn to examine Machado's aesthetics in El mal poema, however, we find that the movement is in the opposite direction. Art is stripped of the mantle of beauty and thrown to life, a two-dimensional, inconsequential reality, without the transcendental backcloth that Baudelaire perceived. El mal poema speaks in tired, deadpan tones of a struggling bohemian existence which nurtures only despair, cynicism and disillusioned indifference. It is poetry which reflects 'cosas feas y de tristeza/que hacen huir la rima y el

ritmo y la belleza' ('Prólogo-epílogo', OC, 76). Rather than art it is anti-art, the work of a world-weary spirit in whose soul the last spark of idealism has been extinguished. Machado had defined this perspective in one of the 1907 additions, a poem revealingly entitled 'Prosa' (OC, 91):

Existe una poesía
sin ritmo ni armonía,
monótona, cansada,
como una letanía . . . ,
de que está desterrada
la pena y la alegría.

Silvestre flor de cardo,
poema gris o pardo
de lo pobre y lo feo
sin nada de gallardo
sin gracia y sin deseo,
agonioso y tardo.

De las enfermedades
y de las ansiedades,
prosaicas y penosas . . . ;
de negras soledades,
de hazañas lastimosas
y estúpidas verdades.

Another excellent definition is provided in 'Nocturno madrileño' (OC, 89).

De un cantar canalla

tengo el alma llena;
de un cantar con notas monótonas, tristes,
de horror y vergüenza.

De un cantar que habla
de vicio y de anemia,
de sangre y de engaño, de miedo y de infamia,
¡y siempre de penas!

De un cantar que dice
mentiras perversas . . .
De pálidas caras, de labios pintados
y enormes ojeras.

De un cantar gitano,
que dice las rejas
de los calabozos y las puñaladas,
y los ayes lúgubres de las malagueñas.

De un cantar veneno,
como flor de adelfa.

De un cantar de crimen,
de vino y miseria,
oscuro y malsano . . . ,
cuyo son recuerda
esa horrible cosa que cruza, de noche,
las calles desiertas.

Machado's concept of poetry as expressed in El mal poema and

earlier poems which prefigure the aesthetic attitudes underlying this collection resembles that formulated by Baudelaire only inasmuch as it is an artistic response to awareness of his condition as a modern urban man, an 'español del siglo veinte' (OC, 78). Although the Spaniard's poems express, as Baudelaire purported to do, the sensibility of a 'poeta decadente' (OC, 78) who considers himself a product of the urban milieu in which he existed, his reaction to this environment implies an inversion of Baudelaire's idea of the relationship which existed between art and modern life. The city-poetry polarity is, as it were, reversed. Where Baudelaire strove to transform the mud from which the Realists had been able to extract nothing but 'la trivialité positive' (OC, 396) into the precious metals of artistic beauty, Machado strove consciously to demystify and demythify the role of art by imposing upon it the reality of an existence which he insistently affirms to be drab. This intention is apparent in poems such as 'Internacional', (OC, 79-80), 'La canción del presente' (OC, 81), 'Yo, poeta decadente', (OC, 78), and 'Chouette' (OC, 81-82), compositions which are pervaded by a sense of the dull inconsequentiality of existence. Here, in a deliberate attempt to prevent art working in the service of idealism, Machado presents life as an uninspiring prospect for which the poet has little enthusiasm. On occasions, the poet's attitude comes close to nonchalance:

> Y mañana
> hablaremos de otra cosa
> más hermosa . . .
> Si la hay, y me da la gana.
>
> ('Internacional')

Yet it is an arid, world-weary nonchalance born not of stoicism but of ennui, of enforced complacency, of abulia and spiritual inertia. The attitude adopted by the persona inhabiting these poems represents a stylisation of Baudelaire's 'Morne incuriosité' (OC, 85).

His philosophy of existence is a kind of inverted dandysme deliberately stripped of every vestige of noble or idealised self-regard. The 'poeta decadente' of El mal poema is a vieux saltimbanque in whom the tragic air of despair has been replaced by cynicism. He practices the cult of defeatism, stifling with the irony of the world-weary sceptic every insinuation that art exists to extract noble qualities of life whose existence may not be apparent to lesser mortals. The closing lines of 'Yo, poeta decadente' provide an admirable illustration of this attitude. Having suggested the phrase 'otra cosa . . . que está/grabado en el alma mía' that there is something more to existence than the sordid, two-dimensional banality which the 'poeta decadente' documents, Machado immediately proceeds to destroy this impression by a calculated act of renegation:

> Grabado: lugar común.
> Alma: palabra gastada.
> Mía . . . No sabemos nada.
> Todo es conforme y según.

Machado, then, attempts to replace the alchemy by which Baudelaire strove to ennoble modern life with a verbal magic designed to have exactly the opposite effect.

3. Le beau moderne

In 'Le Peintre de la vie moderne', Baudelaire formulated a

definition of beauty in which he attempted to reconcile the ephemeral aesthetic values of contemporary taste with the notion of absolute Beauty:

> Le beau est fait d'un élément éternel, invariable, dont la quantité est excessivement difficile à déterminer, et d'un élément relatif, circonstanciel, qui sera, si l'on veut, tour à tour ou tout ensemble, l'époque, la mode, la morale, la passion. Sans ce second élément, qui est comme l'enveloppe amusante, titillante, apéritive, du divin gâteau, le premier élément serait indigestible, inappréciable, non adapté et non approprié à la nature humaine (OC, 550).

Machado struck a posture quite different from the stance adopted by Baudelaire in respect of the 'beauty' of modern life. Rather than seeking to reconcile the controversial idea of *le beau moderne* with an established concept of absolute or ideal beauty, he formulated an image of Baudelaire's 'élément relatif, circonstanciel' from which all notion of sublimity and transcendentalism was erased. In 'Retrato' (OC, 75), the poet rejects both the absolute principle which the classical temperament - 'lo helénico' - strove to encapsulate and the languid, ethereal Beauty of Symbolist - *modernista* art in favour of anti-beauty, epitomised in a bastardised, somewhat vulgar, *cursi* elegance which complements his inverted dandysme:

> . . . Prefiero
> a lo helénico y puro, lo *chic* y lo torero.
> Un destello de sol y una risa oportuna
> amo más que las languideces de la luna.
> Medio gitano y medio parisién-dice el vulgo -,
> con Montmartre y con la Macarena comulgo.

The elegance of Machado's city poet may be 'buscada, rebuscada', as was that of the true dandy, yet in spirit it represents not simply the converse but the antithesis of Baudelaire's refined hero. Indeed, it prefigures the avant-garde cult of the dynamic here-and-now, in its blatant refusal to connect the sensibility of modern man with the appetite for higher or transcendental realities (10).

4. Urban existences

Since both Baudelaire and Machado found in modern urban life a source of inspiration for their poems, it is logical that they should have chosen similar subject matter regardless of the differences which separated their respective attitudes towards modernité. Thus we find both poets composing eulogies to women of humble origins or of dubious morality. Machado's 'Phriné', 'una mujer mala,/fuera de sociedad' ('Mi Phriné' (OC, 78-79), the working girls of 'Voces de la ciudad' (OC, 96-97), wrapped up in their winter clothes like 'gatitas frioleras', and the erotic gutter flower of 'La diosa' (OC, 45-46), are all descendents of Baudelaire's 'mendiante rousse' (OC, 95), Françoise, the milliner's assistant to whom 'Franciscae meae laudes' (OC, 77) is dedicated, and the mulatto prostitute of 'A une Malabaraise' (OC, 79). Yet the spirit in which the charms of these daughters of urban bohemia is evoked is not the same in Machado's poetry as it is in that of Baudelaire. In the Spaniard's poems, the choice of déclassée women serves as a means by which to complement and reinforce the contention that the city is not to be considered a source of transcendental beauty. The deliberate presentation

of women who represent the antithesis of conventional, idealised female beauty is a symbolic rejection of the persistence of classical idealism and transcendentalism in Romantic and post Romantic art. For Baudelaire, on the other hand, the shabby, rather vulgar attractiveness of urban proletarian women proved a difficult material to turn into gold through verbal alchemy. Depiction of such subject matter, therefore, afforded him the opportunity to exploit the irony implicit in any attempt to extract nobility from the erotic passions of an urban poet. Hence his tributes to the humble Françoise and the dishevelled 'mendiante rousse' appear couched in the terms of rhetorical eulogy conventionally reserved for more elevated and idealised subjects.

Just as Baudelaire affirmed the heroism of modern life, Machado stressed its inconsequentiality and two-dimensionality. Thus it is that the legendary quality attributed to the lives of unobtrusive souls, which Baudelaire exploits with dexterity in poems such as 'Les Sept Vieillards' (OC, 97), 'Les Petites Vieilles' (OC, 98), 'Le Vin des Chiffonniers' (OC, 107), and in prose poems like 'Les Veuves' (OC, 155-56), 'Le Vieux Saltimbanque' (OC, 156-57), 'Les Fenêtres' (OC, 174), and 'Mademoiselle Bistouri' (OC, 180-81), is almost entirely absent from El mal poema and other 'city' poems by Machado. In the Spaniard's work urban settings provide the backcloth for scenarios of bohemian folklore, in which the conditions under which the protagonists exist merely serve to confirm the poet's deromanticised view of modern life. When Machado describes the mundane existence of city dwellers, his work acquires a tone approaching

that of social comment. If it is criticism, however, - and this is unlikely - it is of a very diffident sort, devoid of all sense of commitment or reforming intention. In Baudelaire, on the other hand, examples of urban fauna are selected to feature in poems either because they embody the 'bizarre', 'qui est comme le condiment indispensable de toute beauté' (OC, 353), or because they serve as catalysts to what the poet called 'la sainte prostitution de l'âme'. An example of the first kind of poem is to be found in 'Les Sept Vieillards', while the second type is illustrated by 'Les Veuves' or 'Les Petites Vieilles'. In either case, the existence of such individuals provided the poet with a means by which to stimulate his jaded sensibility or, alternatively, to escape awareness of his own anguished condition. This he achieved either through savouring the fascination of 'l'étrangeté', or by projecting the tragedy of his own life into suitably compatible host spirits (old ladies, widows, ageing mountebanks), so that they became the bearers of his obsessions. The poet was thereby able to temporarily evade or objectivise his malaise, or to encounter a stimulus to passion and curiosity. Machado only comes close to self-prostitution in the Baudelairian sense of the term on two occasions. The first involves the poem 'A la tarde' (OC, 98-99). Here, the poet ponders the condition of working girls, whom he sees spilling out of their workshops after a day's toil. The first three stanzas involve merely routine description of city life, in which the poet creates the usual impression of drab inconsequentiality interrupted by transient titillation or stimulation. In the fourth and fifth stanzas, however, the poet begins to reflect on

the life without prospect or hope which the working girls are unwittingly moving towards. The sixth and final stanza contains the pessimistic observation that the tragedy which eventually overtakes the existence of every individual will soon make its presence felt in their young lives:

> Como quien sabe que, de un modo
> o de otro, el mal vendrá después.
> Amar es entregarlo todo;
> vivir, perderlo todo es.

The second poem which follows this pattern is in fact, from Caprichos and is entitled 'Margarita' (OC, 52). Here the poet speculates on the fate of a country girl who has come to live in the metropolis, in much the same way as he mused on the destiny of the working girls in 'A la tarde'. Unobtrusive amidst the city's teeming populace, the girl - prophesies the poet sceptically - will inevitably be drawn into prostitution and end her days either as the heroine or the victim of some bloody drama. Here Machado weaves a legend around a character in a similar way to Baudelaire in 'Les Fenêtres'. His purpose in so doing may, however, be somewhat different from that followed by Baudelaire in his prose poem. The Spaniard appears once more simply to be emphasising the harsh reality of city life and the unidealised fates which await with grim determinism those who move in the urban environment. For Baudelaire, on the other hand, the myth he constructs around the life of the old lady who he observes each day sitting in her window is a fiction into which he can escape from the 'morne incuriosité' and the moral insensibility of Spleen. 'Qu' importe ce que peut être la réalité placée hors de moi',

retorts the poet to the suggestion that the legend he has created may not be factually accurate, 'si elle m'a aidé à vivre, à sentir que je suis et ce que je suis' (OC, 174).

One may conclude, then, that although Baudelaire and Machado were predisposed to select similar subject matter for depiction in their scenes of urban life, the ways in which they treated this subject matter and exploited it in thematic terms reflected their differing beliefs regarding what 'city' poetry should attempt to achieve. Through their deliberately deromanticised presentation of urban characters and their laconic insistence that there is no heroic quality to be extracted from these characters' lives, the Spaniard's poems stress the anti-sublimity of city life. Baudelaire's poems, on the other hand, owe their existence to the poet's conviction that entirely the opposite is true; that the triviality and sordidness of city life has an epic dimension, a legendary quality which, if discovered, can serve as a springboard to transcendence.

5. Textual similarities

If Machado's concept of city poetry was in any way inspired by reading Baudelaire - the Spaniard's own bohemian experience rules out the possibility that this would have been a necessary condition for El mal poema's existence -, it was certainly not reflected in the poems themselves. This brings us to the final issue regarding the influence of Baudelaire in El mal poema, namely, the extent to which Machado's poems can be said to show a specific debt to Baudelaire in the form of concrete textual similarities. There are in fact a number of resemblances to be found. One might even venture to suggest that it is quite

probable that the collection's reputation as a product of Baudelairian influence rests largely on these echoes.

The first resemblances are to be found in 'Prólogo-épilogo' (OC, 76). As Gayton has pointed out (Manuel Machado, p. 131), the lines

> En nuestra buena tierra, la pobre Musa llora
> por los rincones, como una antigua querida
> abandonada, y ojerosa y mal ceñida

recall the following from 'La Muse malade' (OC, 49):

> Ma pauvre Muse, hélas! qu'as-tu donc ce matin?
> Tes yeux creux sont peuplés de visions nocturnes,
> Et je vois tour à tour s'étaler sur ton teint
> La folie et l'horreur, froides et taciturnes.

It is, of course, possible that Machado's image for the Muse, traditionally depicted in female form, could have been drawn from his own experience of seeing dejected prostitutes prowling round the streets of Paris and Madrid. It would be unwise to assume influence here as a matter of course.

Another similarity with Baudelaire is to be found in the concept of the duality of woman expressed in the images 'ideal y animal' and 'gata y ángel'. This polarisation of characteristics recalls, among other occasions, Baudelaire's description of his beloved as 'cette nature étrange et symbolique /. Où l'ange inviolé se mêle au sphinx antique' ('Avec ses vêtements ondoyants et nacrés . . . ', OC, 58). Gayton thinks Verlaine a more likely source, citing 'Sérénade' (OPC, 80) and 'Femme et chatte' (OPC, 74) as antecedents (p. 132). Ultimately one cannot be sure what the

precise origin was, if indeed these similarities are to be traced back to a particular source. The idea of woman as a blend of animality and spirituality 'llegó a ser un lugar común', as Gayton says elsewhere (p. 110).

Of all the poems reflecting Baudelairian antecedents, 'La canción del alba' (OC, 93) is probably the one most responsible for the myth of Baudelairian influence in El mal poema. In this poem, the waking hour in the city is seen through the eyes of a poet savouring the stale aftertaste of hedonistic pernoctation and debauchery. The dawn is presented as a time of disgust and discomfort, a key hour in the daily emotional cycle of the urban poet. This coincides with the impression of dawn conveyed in 'Le Crépuscule du Matin' (OC, 106), although in reality the two poems share no more than this broad theme.

One final poem merits examination alongside those from El mal poema because of its theme and subject matter. This is 'Domingo', a composition from Caprichos (OC, 65). Gayton says of this poem 'En efecto se puede encontrar en Les Fleurs du mal casi todos los temas de 'Domingo' (p. 123). It is certainly true that the composition of the poem's content is typically Baudelairian. The sun is setting. A poet grieves alone while rowdy masses swarm about the streets below in search of pleasure. The situation is comparable to that described in 'Recueillement'. Images of the masses milling noisily in their quest for pleasure are also found in 'La Fin de la journée' (OC. 122):

> Sous une lumière blafarde
> Court, danse et se tord sans raison
> La Vie, impudente et criarde.

as well as in 'A une passante' (OC, 101) and 'Recueillement'.

> Pendant que des mortels la multitude vile
> sous le fouet du plaisir, ce bourreau sans merci,
> Va cueillir des remords dans la fête servile.

Gillian Gayton has identified further, more precise similarities between the first stanza of 'Domingo' (Manuel Machado, p. 121)

> La vida, el huracán, bufa en mi calle. Sobre
> la turba polvorienta y vociferadora,
> el morado crepúsculo desciende . . . el sol, ahora,
> se va, y el barrio queda enteramente pobre.

and the third and fourth lines of the first verse of 'Le Vin des Chiffonniers' (OC, 107-09):

> Au coeur d'un vieux faubourg, labyrinthe fangeux
> Où l'humanité grouille en ferments orageux . . .

Firstly, the image of the hurricane in the opening line of Machado's poem resembles that employed by Baudelaire in the second of the two lines cited above. Secondly, the district described is dirty and delapidated, and its populace appear to be no more than a noisy rabble. The poet, meanwhile, sits distant from the turbulent activity of the street below. He is consumed by splenetic melancholy, and longs to cast off his morbid preoccupations and obsessions to savour the crude delights of the pleasures sought by the revellers outside. Gayton also indicates that a comparable envy is expressed in 'Le Jeu' (OC, 102-03):

> Je me vis accoudé, froid, muet, enviant
> Enviant de ces gens la passion tenace

De ces vielles putains la funèbre gaieté,
Et tous gaillardement trafiquant à ma face,
L'un de son vieil honneur, l'autre de sa beauté

Et mon coeur s'effraya d'envier maint pauvre homme
Courant avec ferveur à l'abîme béant,
Et qui, soûl de son sang, préférait en somme
La douleur à la mort et l'enfer au néant.

'Domingo' is typical of poems from El mal poema and other 'city' verse which invite comparison with Baudelairian sources. The reader is immediately invited to think of the Frenchman's work by the urban setting, broad thematic similarities and certain aspects of content or imagery. Once one attempts to rationalise this initial impression by accounting for the presence of these parities, however, the lack of precise inter-textual resemblances make the likelihood of a confident postulation of influence increasingly remote. Other factors enter into consideration to reinforce this. In the first place, the subject-matter of Machado's poems develops along its own course in spite of the points of contact with Baudelaire. Secondly, the similarities largely involve commonplaces: themes, images, motifs that were the common currency of the 'city' poets of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Finally, Machado would have been able to look to his own experience of city life in Madrid and, perhaps more significantly, Paris, as a source of material for poems. Furthermore, having lived in metropoli, he would have been attuned both intellectually and emotionally to the work of those fin-de-siècle writers who had made city life and the sensibility of urban

man the subject of art. When attempting to determine the origin of this or that feature of Machado's 'city' poetry, then, it is necessary to recognise that existing literary traditions or common human experience are possible explanations which rank equally with or even higher than influence.

Given these factors, it is quite probable that the similarities which can be discerned between Machado and Baudelaire's 'city' poetry are less the result of direct influence than has hitherto been presupposed. When one considers factors such as Machado's own experience of life in the metropolis, the existence of an indigenous (Spanish) tradition of urban poetry, as well as the trends which developed in both France and Spain from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, the difference between Machado and Baudelaire's concepts of urban art, and the number of alternative sources identified by Gayton and other critics, it becomes increasingly implausible to suggest that El mal poema and other 'city' poems could not have taken the form which they did had Machado not been familiar with the Frenchman's works.

V CONCLUSION

The investigation of Manuel Machado's debt to Baudelaire reveals yet again a significant discrepancy between the claims of existing critical opinion regarding the issue and the conclusions which evidence allows to be drawn. The extent to which it is justifiable to speak of direct influences is in reality far less than that which the pronouncements made would lead one to presuppose. The textual similarities which, it might reasonably be assumed, gave rise to the belief that Baudelaire influenced Machado are, admittedly, not exceptionally difficult to detect.

As on so many occasions, however, the lack of external evidence by which to corroborate the hypothesis of influence precludes, together with the existence of equally plausible alternative explanations for the presence of resemblances, the possibility of formulating a conclusive response to the question of Baudelaire's influence in Manuel Machado.

The absence of evidence which would serve to substantiate the claims made by critics in respect of Machado's debt to Baudelaire serves to illustrate that 'influence' is a term to be used in moderation, and even then with caution and precision. A false impression regarding the nature of the relationship between texts under comparison can otherwise all too easily be conveyed, as is the case with Machado's poetry. Furthermore, the inattentiveness of critics who claim to see the influence of Baudelaire in <u>El mal poema</u> to the fundamental differences between both the Frenchman's and the Spaniard's conception of urban verse, prompts reflection as to whether the study not just of influences but of the supposedly more flexible concept of aesthetic tradition is prone to mishandling, and therefore also in need of tighter methodological controls. Could it not even be argued that the examination of conventions and traditions presupposes some attention to the question of influence, on the grounds that a writer cannot truly be considered to have partaken in and thereby perpetuated a particular trend in literature unless he actually 'inherited' it as the result of experiencing direct influences? Just as the mere existence of similarities engenders the desire to start speaking of influences, so within the context of tradition the assumption can all too readily be made that a recurrent feature has been handed down,

ignoring the possibility of a coincidental reappearance or alternative sources.

NOTES

1. See Rafael Ferreres, Verlaine y los modernistas españoles (Madrid: Gredos, 1975), pp. 154-76.

2. The edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, published in Paris by Calmann-Lévy in 1930, which belonged to Manuel Machado is now preserved in the 'Biblioteca Castilla y León' of the Diputación Provincial de Burgos.

3. La corriente infinita (Madrid: Aguilar, 1961), p. 94.

4. Ricardo Gullón, Direcciones del modernismo, segunda edición (Madrid: Gredos, 1971), p. 153.

5. See the introduction to Francisco A de Icaza, Efímeras & Lejanías, selected and edited by R. A. Cardwell, Exeter Hispanic Texts, 36 (University of Exeter, 1983), pp. v-xlix.

6. 'Los poetas de hoy', reprinted in El modernismo visto por los modernistas, introducción y selección de Ricardo Gullón (Barcelona: Labor, 1980), pp. 120-33 (pp. 126-27).

7. The case for accepting that objects or events in the natural world may sometimes be intrinsically suited to the acquisition of a determinate metaphorical value or range of values has been presented convincingly and cogently by Ralf Norrman and Jon Haarberg in Nature and Language. A Semiotic Study of Cucurbits in Literature (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), who illustrate their argument with reference to the symbolic use of species of the plant family Cucurbiticeae. Their hypothesis of 'intrinsic suitability' raises doubts regarding the validity of the widespread belief that close echoes of imagery provide reliable indications of influence. To consider that recurrences of non-conventional imagery could only be attributed to influence presupposes that 'original' images are generated purely through the action of the creative imagination, and ignores the potential to become signifiants which natural phenomena innately possess.

8. 'Decadent Elements in the Poetry of Manuel Machado', in Waiting for Pegasus, edited by Roland Grass and William R. Risley (Macomb: Western Illinois University, 1979), pp. 65-76 (p. 69).

9. Baroja had explored urban life, particularly its less salubrious side, as early as 1900 in Vidas sombrías. Scenes of city life such as 'La trapera' (Cuentos, quinta edición [Madrid: Alianza, 1973], pp. 106-09) prefigure the more extensive literary investigations which he was to undertake subsequently, notably in La lucha por la vida (1904), as H. Ramsden has discussed

in La busca, (Critical Guides to Spanish Texts, 32 [London: Grant and Cutler, Tamesis, 1982]). The theme of urban life continued to appear in Baroja's later work, such as El árbol de la ciencia (1911).

10. In some aspects - notably the rejection of conventional poetic values and qualities such as sublimity and transcendentalism - the aesthetics of El mal poema anticipate the artistic aspirations of Futurism. The sensibility of Machado's world-weary, cynical protagonist, however, is rather more typical of the anti-Symbolism of the Décadence in its final phase.

CHAPTER FIVE

I. UNEXPLORED TERRITORY

The question of whether or not Antonio Machado (1875-1939) incurred in his *modernista* phase - the period of his *Soledades* and *Galerías* - a literary debt to Baudelaire has never become the object of systematic investigation, in spite of claims by a number of critics, notably the French Hispanist, Bernard Sésé (1), that significant similarities are to be discerned between the work of the two poets. This state of affairs is not exceptionally different from that which exists in respect of certain other poets whose work is examined in the present study. In the case of Antonio Machado, however, two factors in particular exist to explain the situation.

The first of these factors concerns other influences which have succeeded in monopolising the attention of Machado's critical commentators. On the one hand, influence enquiry has tended to focus upon the philosophical dimension of the Spaniard's work. It has become customary, in the light of studies such as Ribban's *Niebla y Soledad* (Madrid 1971) or, in particular Antonio Sánchez Barbudo's *El pensamiento de Antonio Machado* (3ª edición [Madrid 1974]), to consider influences in the work of the poet in terms of his debt to Bergson, Heidegger, Unamuno or Kant. This tendency is logical, given the extent to which, for Machado, poetry was (and became increasingly so after his initial period of creative activity) primarily a vehicle for ideas, a format for philosophical musings and speculations. The themes of existential uncertainty and the temporality of man are present, albeit in an embryonic form, in Machado's earliest work. These issues were to attain their fullest expression, alongside the question of national

identity, in Campos de Castilla (1912).

The second factor involves differences between the work of the two poets of a kind which has provided a basis for the generally-held assumption that a significant distance separates Machado from Baudelaire in terms both of aesthetics and sensibility. The aspects which embody this difference have been enumerated by Bernard Sésé in what, to our knowledge, is the only systematic attempt which has been made to investigate the relationship between the work of the two poets:

> Les aspects sataniques (c'est le diable qui tient les fils qui nous remuent!), blasphématoires ou révoltés, le versant mystique ou le vertige sensuel de l'inspiration de Baudelaire, ou encore son ton d'ironie mordante et blessée, son orgueil raffiné ou son culte idolâtre de la Beauté idéale, 'fée aux yeux de velours', tout cela est étranger au lyrisme d'Antonio Machado. La poésie de Machado n'est pas une poésie scandaleuse; rien ne veut y choquer la morale; rien ne veut outrager la décence; aucune complaisance chez lui pour les côtés morbides et pervers de la sensibilité; aucun envoûtement de l'imagination par les chatoiements splendides et maladifs du vice, du mal, du péché; aucun goût pour les pestilences de l'âme (2).

Other critics have evoked the distance which exists between the two poets in terms of a fundamental stylistic disparity. Juan Ramón Jiménez classified Machado as a Symbolist but did not consider Baudelaire to merit the same designation. The Frenchman, he pointed out, 'procede por comparación. El simbolismo va directo' (3). More recently, in Antonio Machado, poeta simbolista (Madrid 1973), J. M. Aguirre has argued convincingly the case for classifying Machado as a Symbolist poet. The critic suggests that Machado shared the aesthetic aims of and was even inspired by Symbolist poets including Jean Moréas, who in 1889

acknowledged the greatness of Charles Baudelaire but declared that his influence had become a hindrance rather than a help to the new generation of French poets (p. 24). Critical pronouncements of this order give credence to the widespread assumption that no common ground in which influences could have taken root existed between the two poets. As a result of this supposition, critics seeking to determine literary influences in the early work of Machado have tended to neglect Baudelaire in favour of poets such as Darío or Verlaine (4).

On the one hand, then, the question of whether or not Machado incurred a debt to Baudelaire has been overshadowed by the presence in the Spaniard's work of influences of a different order or which proceeded from other directions. Otherwise, the issue has simply been ignored, on the grounds that no influence is deemed to have taken place. Nevertheless, having read the early work of Machado, having studied and considered some of the points of contact with Baudelaire's work which are to be discerned therein, one wonders if the indifference shown by critics is entirely justified, and whether to simply pass over the question of whether or not Baudelaire exerted an influence upon the Spaniard, constitutes an adequate response to the issue. While it would hardly be reasonable to suggest that investigations regarding the Frenchman's influence should have taken precedence over enquiry into Machado's debt to, for instance, Unamuno or Verlaine, there are certainly sufficient grounds to question the assumption that Machado incurred no debt to Baudelaire whatsoever. Influence enquiry is, therefore, justified, if only to carry evaluation of pertinent evidence to its logical conclusion.

II. A COMMON RESPONSE TO EXPERIENCE

It has been argued that Antonio Machado may be classified as a Symbolist poet in the strict sense of the term. It has also been suggested that Baudelaire, although a precursor of Symbolism cannot be considered a Symbolist in the same sense as Machado. Inasfar as a literary movement may be defined not only in terms of superficial characteristics but also in terms of a psychological substructure whence its aesthetic precepts or principles derive, one might thereby infer that Baudelaire and Machado differed in such a way as to make the possibility of an influence most unlikely. Yet Symbolism was itself a manifestation of a broader aesthetic tradition originating largely in innovations wrought by Baudelaire. While the Frenchman and Machado may be considered to represent significantly different strains of this tradition, to assume that there is no common ground between them whatsoever would be to overestimate by far the importance of the respects in which the work of the two poets diverges. It is true that they show little by way of stylistic affinity and that the tone of Machado's poetry differs significantly from that of Baudelaire; yet their poetry reflects a common response to an experience which is as fundamental a characteristic of Symbolism as any feature of style, any technique, theme or topos which might be considered typical of the movement. We refer here to the significance attributed by the Symbolists to states of heightened consciousness, or to intuitive, pre-rational awareness, as a means of apprehending the world (and, consequently, as a mode of being); a significance which came to be acknowledged by the descendents of Baudelaire, as a result of this poet's bequest to posterity of the concept of <u>Idéal</u>.

For the Symbolists, perception unmediated by the evaluations and interpretations of conscious mind represented a more authentic, more elemental, more vivid form of experience; one in which awareness and experience were fused, as opposed to being separated by the processes of conceptualisation. To escape the confines of rational consciousness, to transcend the spiritual limitations imposed by personality and circumstance - limitations which are, arguably, the source of the sense of *malaise* and spiritual exile which pervades Symbolist poetry - can be considered to be the dynamic operating within the creative consciousness of the Symbolist poet. It is logical, therefore, that poets should have sought to recreate this pre-conceptualised level of experience in their verse. Poetry became a means by which to recapture a primal perception of the world, to overcome the 'disassociation of consciousness'. Thus the Symbolists sought, as Mallarmé prescribed, to 'peindre non la chose, mais l'effet qu'elle produit', to capture in verbal form the Verlainian 'nuance' (5), the tone and quality of experience, as opposed to its meaning; to evoke rather than to describe or define.

Pre-rational awareness or intuitive insight, a heightening of the sensibility or mystical consciousness are characterised by the absence of the intervention of a mind which conceptualises inner events and is conscious of its own identity. Such states are, then, what might be called an impersonal form of experience, one in which the self is a sounding board for sensations, a host to the tones and hues of *états d'âme*. Consequently, poets seeking to recreate experience at this level sought consciously to eradicate all vestiges of the will, of the personality, of the self-conscious *moi*. They sought to depersonalise and de-individualise their work,

to create a pure moodscape. One of the finest examples of this tendency to emerge from the Symbolist tradition is to be found in the 'Ariettes oubliées' of Paul Verlaine's Romances sans paroles.

The poems of Machado's early period reflect a sensitivity to 'significant' inner events - to spiritual epiphanies, to poignant moments where 'le précis à l'indécis se joint' (6) - and to the character of typical or recurrent états d'âme which is consonant with that of any poet partaking of the aesthetic tradition which recognised as significant the distinction between normal and heightened awareness. In contrast to the intentional depersonalisation of art apparent in the work of other Symbolist poets, however, the moi of Machado does not become the object of systematic exclusion. On the contrary, a conscious, alert evaluative personality is rarely absent from the Spaniard's verse, not only in poems which purport to recreate a particular moment of experience (LXII, 'Desgarrada la nube . . .' [SGOP, p. 169] is a case in point) but throughout the Spaniard's early work in its entirety. A statistical survey of the 122 poems of Soledades. Galerías y otros poemas (7. 'Hereafter SGOP') reveals that an active conscious yo intervenes in no less than 84 compositions, either to narrate, to expostulate or to record experiences chosen for depiction as they occur. Almost everything, then, is presented through the lucid eye of an intelligent presence, which watches over, monitors or interprets the vivencias which provide the point de départ for the creative enterprise.

In this respect the work of Machado resembles that of Baudelaire more than that of poets who sought to eradicate the presence of a conceptualising personality from their verse. A conscious

presence which monitors events and formulates judgements inhabits the poems of SGOP as it does those of Les Fleurs du Mal. It is a persona which does not seek to lose itself in experience, to dissolve itself. On the contrary, it is stimulated into response by inner events and uses this response as a basis on which to formulate an idea of its existential condition. The self-view which results is, indeed, itself determined by the duality of consciousness which this persona experiences: its own conscious presence, on the one hand, and fleeting moments of heightened awareness of prerational or intuitive experience, on the other.

Herein lies a very real point of contact between Machado and Baudelaire, a common psychological configuration which is to be discerned through their poetry. This common ground is, moreover, of a kind which is conducive to the occurrence of influences. Resemblances which exist between writers on a psychological level are likely to be reflected in similarities between the ways in which these writers perceive and describe their inner universe. These similarities may take the form of common preoccupations, a concern with the same existential issues, and, ultimately, thematic parallels on the level of the literary text. A writer who, as a result of reading a particular work, discerns an affinity of sensibility, world-view or consciousness between himself and the author of the work in question, is bound to consider that author's experience as a variant of his own. Consequently, and irrespective of whether his response to the manner in which the author articulates their common experience is favourable or otherwise, his own perception of that experience is likely to be conditioned by that which he encounters in the work which he has read. One form in which this conditioning may manifest

itself is influence: A encounters in the work of B an adequate account of their common experience, as a result of which A avails himself of those elements which provide the most poignant synthesis or embodiment of the most characteristic aspects of this experience.

The common ground which exists between Baudelaire and Machado makes such an influence possible. The possibility is, in turn, heightened by the existence of rapports de fait between the work of the two poets, which we will now proceed to examine.

III. POINTS OF CONTACT

1. Epochal conventions

SGOP may be located clearly in the psycho-aesthetic tradition deriving from Baudelaire by virtue of the presence of thematic elements which had become the common currency of this tradition. There are poems pervaded by a sense of malaise and taedium vitae. The variety of terms used to describe the poet's melancholy état d'ame bear witness to the constitutional nature of the affliction: 'pena', 'amargura', 'melancolía', 'hipocondría', 'melomanía', 'angustia', 'dolor', 'hastío', 'tristeza'.

The opposite pole of consciousness is also represented. The fleeting images of Beauty, the evasive, lissom-limbed virgins with menacing eyes who, clad in sandals and diaphanous tunics or the black veils of mourning, haunt the poet, diffusing a tantalising aroma of fatal eroticism or awakening le goût de l'infini before vanishing (VII, p. 75; XV, p. 88; XVI, p. 89; XXIX, p. 108, XLII, p. 130; XLIII, p. 132; LXIII, p. 182; XCI, p. 203; XIV, p. 234) recall not only 'la hija ardiente / de una ilusión', 'la imagen que en leve ensueño pasa' or the 'niña de ojos negros' of Bécquer,

but also, and in some respects more directly, the Baudelairian 'Fugitive beauté' of 'A une passante' (OC, 101) or the 'fée aux yeux de velours' of 'Hymne à la Beauté' (OC, 54). The question posed by Machado in poem XXIX (p. 108): '¿Eres la sed o el agua en mi camino?' reflects the ambivalent nature of Beauty as expressed by Baudelaire in 'Hymne à la Beauté':

> Viens-tu du ciel profond ou sors-tu de l'abîme,
> O Beauté? ton regard infernal et divin,
> Verse confusément le bienfait et le crime
> . . . . . .
> Tu contiens dans ton oeil le couchant et l'aurore
> . . . . . .
> Sors-tu du gouffre noir ou descends-tu des astres?
> . . . . . .
> Que tu viennes du ciel ou de l'enfer, qu'importe. . .!
> . . . . . .
> De Satan ou de Dieu, qu'importe? Ange ou Sirène,
> Qu'importe . . .?

The poems of SGOP also reveal their author's characteristically Symbolist predilection for crepuscular settings, 'un tópico' according to Rafael Ferreres, 'manoseado, muy delicadamente', desde el Romanticismo hasta los escritores que se han encasillado en la generación del 98' (Los límites del modernismo y del 98 [Madrid 1964] p. 167).

There are also a number of thematic points of contact with the work of Baudelaire which, while still belonging to the category of epochal conventions, either display a more precise (yet not, with regard to influence, necessarily more significant) resemblance to

Baudelairian sources or involve themes which the Frenchman developed at greater length than many other poets of the Symbolist tradition.

One such theme is that of the journey of life. 'El viajero' (pp. 63-64) and 'He andado muchos caminos' (pp. 65-66) present the idea of life as a span of time allotted to an individual, during which he may be more or less successful in coming to terms with the conditions of existence, finding existential fulfilment and reconciling himself to the inexorable flow of time. Similar notions and sentiments are expressed in 'Le Voyage' (OC, 122-24).

The image of the poet presented in SGOP also coincides with that diffused in the work of Baudelaire on a number of counts. In the first place, the persona who inhabits the poems of SGOP suffers from a spiritual condition closely related to Baudelairian Spleen. He is prey to the 'vieja angustia / que habita mi usual hipocondría'; he experiences 'nostalgia de la vida buena' (LXXVII, p. 186) and passes his days 'devanando / los hilos del hastío y de la tristeza' (XIV, p. 87). As Bernard Sésé has observed in his book Antonio Machado (Madrid 1980):

> Nostalgia, asco, tedio y hastío, triste sabor de ceniza y de sombra, indefinible sensación de muerte: el spleen machadiano se aproxima al spleen baudelairiano. Tiene la opresora gravedad de éste y, a veces, incluso la alucinación de una pesadilla. En este aspecto, entre Baudelaire y Machado hay un innegable parentesco espiritual y, sin duda, un influjo del poeta de Flores del Mal sobre el poeta de Soledades (p. 95).

While Sésé's confident assertion of Baudelairian influence is in reality a questionable assumption, the similarity which he discerns between the Spleen of each poet represents a valid and

pertinent comparison.

Secondly, the lot ascribed to the poet in SGOP is, as in the poetry of Baudelaire, that of the poète maudit. This destiny is evoked in 'El poeta' (pp. 91-93), a composition which recalls 'Bénédiction' (OC, 44-45), insomuch / that it envisages for the man born to the condition of poet a life of suffering, disillusion and martyrdom.

Thirdly, the poet is depicted as a spiritual exile, separated from a realm of plenitude and harmony which he intuits beyond the earthly existence to which he is bound, and which he considers to be his spiritual homeland. The protagonists of 'A un naranjo y un limonero' (pp. 153-54) and 'Le Cygne' (OC, 97) - an orange tree and a lemon tree, and a swan and a negress respectively - languish in a state of abject material deprivation in inhospitable surroundings far from their native environment.

Finally, the poet is portrayed in the guise of a fallen dandy. Machado's 'triste y pobre filósofo trasnochado' (XCV, pp. 210-11 [p. 210]), his 'borracho melancólico', 'guitarrista lunático', 'pobre hombre en sueños' (LXXVII, pp. 186-87 [p. 187]) who wanders 'mal vestido y triste' (LXXII, p. 181) through the streets of life, is a close spiritual relation of the decrepid acrobat of 'Le Vieux Saltimbanque' (OC, 156-57), the nomadic minstrels and players of 'Bohémiens en voyage' (OC, 51) or the blind men of 'Les Aveugles' (OC, 100-101).

Antonio Machado's preoccupation with time is considered by critics to be a distinguishing feature of his work; yet most of the aspects of man's temporality explored by the Spaniard are either treated explicitly or are implicit in the poetry of Baudelaire. 'Une autre obsession', observes Bernard Sésé, 'celle du temps qui

passe et qui menace, fait confluer l'inspiration des deux poètes' (8). The 'confluence' to which the French critic alludes is most evident in the theme, broached by both poets, of a past which is irretrievably lost. Baudelaire's nostalgia for irrecuperable states of pristine innocence and plenitude, as expressed in 'Moesta et errabunda' (OC, 80), 'J'aime le souvenir des époques nues' (OC, 46-48) and 'La Vie antérieure' (OC, 51) is echoed in Machado's 'Era una mañana y abril sonreía (pp. 132-33):

> La tarde de abril sonrió: La alegría
> pasó por tu puerta - y luego, sombría:
> Pasó por tu puerta. Dos veces no pasa
> (p. 133).

The poems of SGOP reveal a particular regret for the loss of youth, Baudelaire's 'vert paradis des amours enfantines' (OC, 80). The theme is treated extensively, appearing in 'El viajero' (pp. 63-64). and poems III (p. 67), VIII (pp. 77-78), LXVII (p. 176), LXXXV (p. 195), XCI (p. 203) and XCV (p. 210).

The transcendental experience of involuntary memory, recapture of the passé lumineux, which is found in Baudelaire's poetry by way of contrast to anguished awareness of man's temporality and the inexorable flow of time is also found in SGOP. 'Preludio' (p. 99) celebrates momentary escape from the continuum of time in a way which is closely reminiscent of 'Harmonie du soir' (OC, 69). Expansion of the consciousness beyond the confines of time is represented in both instances as a synaesthetic experience: 'Les parfums, les couleurs et les sons', as the sonnet 'Correspondances' (OC, 46) tells, 'se répondent'. In 'Preludio' the sound of the fife blends with the aroma of autumn apples, myrre, incense and roses in the

warmth and shadow of the garden to give a 'grave acorde lento de música y aroma'. This solemn moment parallels closely the sense of harmony and plenitude when, on an autumn evening as the sun goes down, the sound of the violin which 'frémit comme un coeur qu'on afflige' (the tone of which instrument recalls that of the shrill fife as well as the resonant tones of the 'órgano severo', also mentioned in 'Preludio') mingles with '[l]es sons et les parfums [qui] tournent dans l'air du soir' to produce a '[v]alse mélancolique et langoureux vertige'. In both poems, the experience acquires a profoundly religious quality. In 'Preludio', there is terminology drawn directly from the ritual of worship ('santo', 'salmo', 'salmodiar [án]', 'rezar', 'altar') or which has strong religious overtones which are clearly exploited in the context ('atril', 'órgano', 'mirra', 'incienso', 'paloma', 'palabra blanca'; 'paz', 'dulce', 'severo', 'grave', 'vieja y noble'). In 'Harmonie du soir' similar patterns of lexical items are to be found: 'encensoir', 'ostensoir', 'reposoir'. Both poems, then, evoke a kind of sacred communion with essences of love lost recaptured from the past, through a process of involuntary memory the catalyst to which is, in each case, the golden warmth of an autumn evening. 'Preludio' celebrates the passing of 'la sombra . . . de un santo amor', and 'Harmonie du soir' '[t]on souvenir [qui] en moi luit comme un ostensoir!'.

The sense of existential anguish which pervades SGOP as well as the work of Baudelaire gives rise to poems which explore forms of consolation in face of the tragic reality of la condition humaine. One such strategy is the belief in death as a release from the sense of malaise which taints earthbound existence. Machado's prayer for a departed friend:

-Y tú, sin sombra ya, duerme y reposa,
larga paz a tus huesos . . .

Definitivamente,
duerme un sueño tranquilo y verdadero

('En el entierro de un amigo' pp. 68-69 [p. 69]).

echoes sentiments expressed by Baudelaire in 'Le Mort joyeux' (OC, 83), or 'Le Voyage' (OC, 122-24): 'O Mort, vieux capitaine, il est temps!' (p. 124).

Another form of consolation is to be found in the alchemy of art, which, by embracing the poet's anguish as the object of expression, transforms the bitter stuff of Spleen into grist for the mill of positive creative energies. In Poem LIX (pp. 160-61), the poet's heart is represented as a beehive, in which 'doradas abejas' create out of 'las amarguras viejas, / blanca cera y dulce miel' (p. 160). The same image appears in poems LXI (pp. 167-68 [p. 168]) and LXXXVI (pp. 196-97 [p.196]). The same notion is expressed in Baudelaire's 'Le Mauvais Moine'

O moine fainéant! quand saurai-je donc faire
Du spectacle vivant de ma triste misère
Le travail de mes mains et l'amour de mes yeux?
(OC, 49)

as well as in 'L'Ennemi'

Et qui sait si les fleurs nouvelles que je rêve
Trouveront dans ce sol lavé comme une grève
Le mystique aliment qui ferait leur vigueur?
(OC, 49)

Yet another means of consolation in the face of malaise is loss

of self, or, more precisely, projection of the self into other, kindred souls, thereby affording him the possibility of acknowledging his own grief without actually feeling it:

> Le poëte jouit de cet incomparable privilège, qu'il peut à sa guise être lui-même et autrui. Comme ces âmes errantes qui cherchent un corps, il entre, quand il veut, dans le personnage de chacun (OC, 155).

This notion, which Baudelaire referred to as 'prostitution of the soul' and the practice in literature of which is exemplified in 'Les Petites Vieilles' (OC, 98,100), 'Les Veuves' (OC, 155-56), and 'Le Vieux Saltimbanque' (OC, 156-57), also finds expression in SGOP in poems XXVI (p. 105), XXXI (p. 110) and 'A un viejo y distinguido señor' (p. 191).

2. Echoes of images

The thematic resemblances between SGOP and the work of Baudelaire examined above clearly indicate an affinity of vision between the two poets. Their value as an indication of the possibility of influence, however, is not as great as that of certain rapports de fait on the level of imagery.

The image of the clock appears in the work of both Machado and Baudelaire as a symbol, in moments of anguished awareness of la condition humaine, of the inexorable flow of time towards inevitable death or, when the poet is in the grip of Spleen, of the emptiness of existence, of a lack of existential authenticity. It appears in two principal guises: measuring empty moments with its ticking, calling the poet to account for his existence or reminding him of his mortality with its resonant chiming; in short, as a menacing component of splenetic or anguished mood-

scapes. In 'Spleen' ('Pluviôse, irrité contre la ville entière', OC, 85), the ticking of the 'pendule enrhumée' counts the arid moments as they pass. In 'Rêve parisien' (OC, 105-06), 'la pendule aux accents funèbres / sonnait brutalement midi' to awaken the poet from a dream of ideality and to cast him back into the world of 'soucis maudits' (9). In 'L'Examen de minuit' (OC, 90-91), the clock striking midnight serves as a catalyst to critical self examination:

> La pendule, sonnant minuit,
> Ironiquement nous engage
> A nous rappeler quel usage
> Nous fîmes du jour qui s'enfuit
>
> (OC, 90).

The same role is fulfilled by the clock's chimes or, rather, chime, in the prose poem 'A une heure du matin' (OC, 152, 154). By far the most elaborate development of the image of the clock in Baudelaire's work, however, is to be found in 'L'Horloge' (OC, 94). In this poem, the ticking of the clock serves as an ominous reminder to the poet that '[c]haque instant te dévore un morceau du délice / A chaque homme accordé pour toute sa saison', that [l]es minutes . . . sont des gangues / Qu' il ne faut pas lâcher sans en extraire l'or', and that '[l]e gouffre', death, 'a toujours soif'.

The image of the clock presents a similar character in SGOP. It is used to convey the emptiness of existence, of time passing unlived:

> En la tristeza del hogar golpea
> el tic-tac del reloj. Todos callamos
>
> ('El viajero', pp. 63-64 [p. 64])

Del reloj arrinconado,
que en la penumbra clarea
('Hastío', p. 156)

Sonaba el reloj la una,
dentro de mi cuarto.
. . . . . .
Y yo sentí el estupor
del alma cuando bosteza
el corazón, la cabeza,
y . . . morirse es lo mejor
(LVI, p. 157)

The last example is particularly reminiscent of 'L'Examen de minuit' and 'A une heure du matin'. Elsewhere, the striking clock features as a symbolic reminder to the poet of man's mortality: 'Daba el reloj las doce . . . y eran doce / golpes de azada en tierra' (XXI, p. 100).

The hollow chimes of the clock are but one example of a range of dull sounds with funereal associations found in SGOP which correspond to the notion of, to coin a Baudelairian term, the 'choc funèbre'. The term is taken from the Frenchman's 'Chant d'automne':

J'entends déjà tomber avec des chocs funèbres
Le bois retentissant sur le pavé des cours.
. . . . . .
Il me semble, bercé par ce choc monotone,
Qu'on cloue en grande hâte un cercueil quelque part.
Pour qui? - C'était hier l'été; voici l'automne!
Ce bruit mystérieux sonne comme un départ
(OC, 74)

The 'choc funèbre' appears in SGOP in 'En el entierro de un amigo' (pp. 68-69):

> Y al reposar sonó [el ataúd] con recio golpe,
> solemne, en el silencio.
>
> Un golpe de ataúd en tierra es algo
> perfectamente serio.
>
> Sobre la negra caja se rompían
> los pesados terrones polvorientos
> (p. 68)

in poem XII (p. 83):

> Los golpes del martillo
> dicen la negra caja;
> y el sitio de la fosa,
> los golpes de la azada

and in 'Cante Hondo' (p. 87):

> Y en la guitarra, resonante y trémula,
> la brusca mano, al golpear, fingía
> el reposar de un ataúd en tierra.

Another image related to the theme of passing time which is present in the work of both poets is that of the water-clock:

> Le gouffre a toujours soif; la clepsydre se vide
> ('L'Horloge', OC, 94)

> tú no verás caer la última gota
> que en la clepsidra tiembla
> (XXI, p. 100)

In Niebla y Soledad, Geoffrey Ribbans makes the following observation in respect of this coincidence of imagery:

> También Baudelaire pudo contribuir a ciertos aspectos de la temporalidad machadiana, sobre todo con el sombrío poema 'L'Horloge'; es casi seguro que de aquí - 'le gouffre a toujours soif; la clepsydre se vide' - proviene la referencia a la clepsidra en el poema de Machado (p. 278).

Finally in both SGOP and Les Fleurs du Mal, the passing of youth is described in terms of a garden ravaged by a storm. In 'L'Ennemi' (OC, 49), we find the following evocation:

> Ma jeunesse ne fut qu'un ténébreux orage,
> Traversé ça et là par de brillants soleils;
> Le tonnerre et la pluie ont fait un tel ravage,
> Qu'il reste dans mon jardin bien peu de fruits [vermeils.

A similar image of devastation appears in poem XCV of SGOP:

> Pasó como un torbellino,
> bohemia y aborrascada,
> harta de coplas y vino,
> mi juventud bien amada
> (p. 210).

The image is also used, though not as a metaphor for lost youth, in poem LXVIII: 'Alma, ¿qué has hecho de tu pobre huerto?' (p. 177).

Another thematic domain in which precise rapports de fait between the early work of Machado and that of Baudelaire can be found involves the sense of malaise and taedium vitae afflicting both poets. The yawn of ennui which, in 'Au lecteur', 'avalerait le monde' (OC, 43) also appears in Machado's 'El poeta' in the image of 'el corazón

que bosteza' (p. 92); in poem XLIX:

> ¡Oh mundo sin encanto, sentimental inopia
> que borra el misterioso azogue del cristal!
> ¡Oh el alma sin amores que el Universo copia
> con un irremediable bostezo universal!
>
> (p. 146);

and in poem LVI:

> Y yo sentí el estupor
> del alma cuando bosteza
> el corazón, la cabeza,
> y . . . morirse es lo mejor
>
> (p. 157)

In 'Le Voyage' (OC, 122-24), reference is made to 'un désert d'ennui' (p. 124). In 'La Déstruction (OC, 111), the poet is led by his 'Démon' 'au milieu / Des plaines de l'Ennui, profondes et désertes'. The image of 'un arenal de hastío' which occurs in 'El poeta' (pp. 91-93 [p. 91]) is an exact translation of 'un désert d'ennui'. The same image is found, with a marginal variation in its linguistic structure - 'la arena del hastío - in poem XXVII (p. 106). A similar figurative construct exists in poem XXXVII (pp. 116-17): 'mi pobre sombra triste / sobre la estepa y bajo el sol de fuego' (p. 116).

The monotony, if not the aridness, of existence when Spleen dominates the consciousness is expressed in the work of both poets by the image of falling rain. In 'Spleen' ('Pluviôse, irrité contre la ville entière' (OC, 85), the rainy month of the Republican calender 'De son urne à grands flots verse un froid

ténébreux'. The cadaverous young monarch of the third of the four poems entitled 'Spleen' (OC, 85, 88) reigns over 'un pays pluvieux'. In the last of these four poems ('Quand le ciel bas et lourd pèse comme un couvercle' OC, 88), the poet falls victim to grim Spleen, 'Quand la pluie étalant ses immenses traînées / D'une vaste prison imite les barreaux'. In Machado's 'Recuerdo infantil' (pp. 70-71) we find, by way of comparison, 'Monotonía / de lluvia tras los cristales'; in 'Hastío' (p. 156), 'la monotonía / del agua clara al caer'; while in 'El viajero' (pp. 63-64), the 'querido hermano' returned from his wanderings and his family stare out at the late autumn landscape which moulders 'tras los húmedos cristales' (p. 63).

Further points of contact between SGOP and the work of Baudelaire on the level of imagery involve expression of a sense of existential anguish. In 'Chant d'automne' (OC, 74), the poet's mind is compared to 'la tour qui succombe / Sous les coups du bélier infatigable et lourd'. A similar image of relentless, unremitting breakdown of the self is to be found in poem LXXXVI (pp. 196-97):

> Dolores que ayer hicieron
> de mi corazón colmena,
> hoy tratan mi corazón
> como a una muralla vieja:
> quieren derribarlo, y pronto,
> a golpe de la piqueta
>
> (p. 197).

Poem LXIII (p. 170) evokes the sense of horror felt by the poet as he descends into his soul, 'la honda cripta del alma': 'Y en la cripta sentí sonar cadenas, / y rebullir de fieras enjauladas'.

The use of images of descent into dark depths where hidden horrors and menaces lurk is also found in Baudelaire's 'L'Irrémédiable':

> Un damné descendant sans lampe,
> Au bord d'un gouffre dont l'odeur
> Trahit l'humide profondeur,
> D'éternels escaliers sans rampe
>
> Où veillent des monstres visqueux
> Dont les larges yeux de phosphore
> Font une nuit plus noire encore
> Et ne rendent visibles qu'eux
>
> (OC, 93).

The negative connotations of the notion of inverse alchemy as exploited by Baudelaire in the sonnet 'Alchimie de la douleur' (OC, 90) - 'Par toi je change l'or en fer / Et le paradis en enfer' - are also put to use in poem XCV (pp. 210-11) of SGOP:

> Poeta ayer, hoy triste y pobre
> filósofo trasnochado,
> tengo en monedas de cobre
> el oro de ayer cambiado
>
> (10)

The pessimistic self-view conveyed in this image is repeated in Machado's poem 'Es una tarde cenicienta y mustia' (pp. 186-87), where the poet describes himself as a 'barco sin naufragio y sin estrella', a 'perro olvidado que no tiene / huella ni olfato', a 'niño que en la noche de una fiesta / . . . se pierde entre el gentío', a 'pobre hombre en sueños, / siempre buscando a Dios entre la niebla'. There is a close proximity between the sense of vital

disorientation evoked by the Spaniard in these terms and that which is expressed in Baudelaire's 'Les Aveugles' (OC, 100-01). The blind men of this poem traverse 'le noir illimité' - Machado's 'niebla' - seeking, with their upturned eyes 'd'où la divine étincelle est partie', the God that persistently evades detection by Machado's 'triste y pobre / filósofo trasnochado': 'Que cherchent-ils au Ciel, tous ces aveugles?'.

IV. CONCLUSION: A POINT OF DEPARTURE

To a reader familiar with existing critical treatment of the question of Baudelaire's influence in the early work of Antonio Machado, the survey of rapports de fait conducted above may appear to achieve no more than that which has been attempted already. Critics who have broached the issue have tended to infer de facto that a literary debt was incurred, and have based their assumption on either supposedly comprehensive enumerations of intertextual similarities (Sésé) or the existence of certain precise points of contact (Ferreres, Gullón, Ribbans, Sésé). Such an impression is, perhaps, inevitable, for the presentation of documentary evidence in the form of enumerated rapports de fait, however necessary and however well-organised, risks drawing the reader into a mass of factual information in which he may easily lose sight of the purpose of the exercise. These concluding paragraphs would, therefore, seem to constitute an appropriate juncture at which to reiterate and clarify precisely what the present chapter seeks to achieve. Our intentions can be expressed in both positive and negative terms.

To begin with, the survey of points of contact carried out above

does not purport to furnish an exhaustive catalogue of similarities between the work of Baudelaire and Machado's early poetry. Other studies cited in the present chapter have made mention of resemblances not listed above. They have also indicated other possible sources of influence, whereas the present chapter has tended to touch on this matter only in passing, if at all. (The repetition of such detail would constitute an unwarranted duplication of evidence. We therefore refer readers interested in information of this order to the studies cited above). Notwithstanding, the existence of a number of the rapports de fait identified in the course of the present chapter has not as yet, to our knowledge, been recognised in publicised discussion of the influence of Baudelaire upon Machado. The disparities which exist between the various existing pronouncements regarding this issue provide adequate proof of the difficulties involved in, if not of the impossibility of elaborating a truly objective enumeration of significant rapports de fait, particularly where the term 'influence' is employed by critics in an albeit well-intentioned but nonetheless arbitrary fashion.

The principal aim of the present chapter has been to determine the feasibility of a study designed to ascertain the possibility that Baudelaire exerted an influence upon the early work of Antonio Machado. Given the existence of grounds upon which to assume the possibility that a literary debt could have been incurred, enquiry has sought to identify pertinent evidence (in this case rapports de fait) and to classify it according to the extent to which it supports the possibility of influence.

One may conclude on the basis of the evidence presented that there is a case for developing discussion of Baudelaire's influence upon

Machado beyond the mere identification of similarities, particularly with regard to points of contact which fall within one particular thematic domain, that of time. Indeed, the material available for study is sufficiently extensive for the issue of Baudelaire's influence in Machado to be pursued in greater detail than is possible on the present occasion.

Nonetheless, it is doubtful whether further investigation would uncover much in the way of conclusive proof of influence. As J. M. Aguirre has demonstrated in Antonio Machado, poeta simbolista, the Spaniard had a wide knowledge of the work of the Symbolist poets and their precursors, and clearly partook of their aesthetic tradition. It is therefore quite possible that even the closest similarities between the work of Baudelaire and Machado were the result of other influences, or simply of the Spaniard's receptiveness to conventions of the epoch.

NOTES

1. This critic has enumerated similarities between the work of Baudelaire and Machado in two publications: 'Résonance Baudelairienne dans la poésie d'Antonio Machado', Les Langues neó-latines, No. 203 (1972), pp. 37-44, and Antonio Machado (Madrid: Gredos, 1980).

2. 'Résonance Baudelairienne dans la poésie d'Antonio Machado', p. 34.

3. El modernismo: notas de un curso (1953), edición de R. Gullón y E. Fernández Méndez (Mexico: Aguilar, 1962), p. 174.

4. The question of the influence of Verlaine in Antonio Machado has become the object of specific investigation for a number of critics: Rafael Ferreres, in Verlaine y los modernistas españoles (Madrid: Gredos, 1975), Paul Ilie, in 'Verlaine and Machado: the Aesthetic Role of Time', Comparative Literature, 14 (1962), pp. 261-65; Geoffrey Ribbans, in 'La influencia de Verlaine en Antonio Machado', Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, núms 91-92 (1957), pp. 181-194 and 'Nuevas precisiones sobre la influencia de Verlaine en Antonio Machado', Filología (Buenos Aires), 12 (1968-69), pp. 295-303. The debt of Machado to Rubén Darío has been examined by, among others, 'Alan W. Phillips in 'Antonio Machado y Rubén Darío', Sin nombre, 2 (1971), pp. 36-47.

5. See Verlaine's 'Art poétique', OPC, 326-27. Analyses of Verlaine's depiction of pre-rational consciousness to be found in R. S. King's 'Verlaine's verbal sensation' (Studies in Philology, 72 [1975] pp. 226-36), and Jean-Pierre Richard's 'Fadeur de Verlaine', in Poésie et profondeur (Paris: Seuil, 1955), pp. 163-85.

6. See Paul Verlaine, 'Art poétique', OPC, pp. 326-27 [p. 326].

7. For the purposes of the present chapter, we refer to Geoffrey Ribban's edition of the early poems, which includes all the compositions written between 1899 and 1907 which in the course of time were published under the title of Soledades, Galerías y otras poemas.

8. 'Résonance Baudelairienne dans la poésie d'Antonio Machado, p. 43.

9. This notion is also expressed in the prose poem 'La Chambre double' (OC, 149-50).

10. To assume a parallel with Baudelaire here may, in reality, imply a misreading of the text. It is possible that the image of transformation from gold into copper used by Machado does not reflect a process of alchemy but simply the gradual depletion of personal finances: higher denominations of coinage are lost as one's capital is expended.

CHAPTER SIX

I. A QUESTION OF EVIDENCE

With regard to the influence of Baudelaire, the case of Juan Ramón Jiménez (1881-1958) differs markedly from those examined in the preceding chapters. Not only can it be established beyond all doubt that Jiménez was influenced by Baudelaire, but, furthermore, it is not even necessary to consult the Spaniard's creative writings in order to do so. Categorical proof of influence exists, and is to be found primarily in autobiographical passages in Jiménez's critical writings. Here he revealed an extraordinary willingness to acknowledge his debt to those writers in whose work he encountered a source of inspiration during the formative periods of his literary career. One of the most comprehensive pronouncements of this kind is to be found in an unpublished manuscript in which Jiménez furnished an extensive, although, as he confessed therein, not exhaustive catalogue of 'mis fuentes poéticas y literarias, mayores y menores, más constantes o más intermitentes' (1). Jiménez's declaration in the same paragraph that he enumerated these sources in a spirit of 'verdadero gozo' would seem to vouch for his sincerity on this occasion, and for the authenticity of the information imparted.

The presence of Baudelaire among those named aligns this pronouncement with a number of others in which Jiménez acknowledged a debt to the author of Les Fleurs du Mal. That on this occasion the Frenchman appeared among the first eight writers to be identified in a list compiled as each influence came to mind, suggests that Jiménez considered him to be one of his more memorable sources of guidance.

Jiménez's admission of debt provides the logical basis for

discussion of Baudelaire's influence upon the Spanish poet. The evidence which this kind of testimony comprises, however, is radically different from that upon which one is obliged to rely where no extra-textual proof of influence exists. Assumptions regarding the nature of influence enquiry and indeed the very meaning of the term 'influence' which are made where inter-textual rapports de fait offer the only material for study are no longer valid. In the first place, Baudelaire's influence is, in a general sense, no longer a matter for conjecture. In the course of a few brief declarations, Jiménez provided a categorical response to what many might consider the central issue of influence studies: whether the supposed recipient of influences can actually be said to have been influenced.

A second and far more fundamental difference involves the concept of influence implicit in Jiménez's testimony. Where evidence of one writer's actual or possible debt to another is confined to material in the literary text, influence must necessarily present itself as something visible, clearly delimited and static. It appears above all as a result, the product of processes which themselves remain invisible and which, therefore, are deemed to lie outside the sphere of investigation. Jiménez's testimony presupposes a view of influence which is quite distinct from this perception of the phenomenon. In the unpublished manuscript mentioned above, the Spaniard's admission that he was influenced by Baudelaire is, (as on other occasions) inexplicit in terms of actual instances of influence. There are no references to textual influence, to poems, verses, images or other stylistic and thematic components which embody the debt. Jiménez simply conveys the impression of having undergone, as a result of contact

with the Frenchman's work, an experience or experiences which he saw fit to describe as influence. This is a far more comprehensive definition of influence than that which is to be elaborated solely on the basis of textual manifestations of debt. For one thing, there can be no guarantee that influence as presented in Jiménez's testimony will always be reflected in the work of art. If it is, it may not necessarily appear in a recognisable form; there may be no clear inter-textual resemblances to betray its presence. The Spaniard's admission of debt also departs from the image of influence as fixed in individual manifestations. His reference to sources which were 'más constantes o más intermitentes' invites the action of one writer upon another to be perceived as a dynamic process which, furthermore, may vary in form and fluctuate in intensity.

The factors enumerated above hold implications for the critical task which lies ahead. Given that the debt in question is on this occasion real, not hypothetical, the object of the exercise is not to speculate as to whether or not influence might have taken place. Rather, it is to determine the nature and profile of an influence which is known to have occurred. Two factors - the proximity of the notion of influence implicit in Jiménez's testimony to the more comprehensive idea of impact, and the presentation of influence as a dynamic process - suggest that a chronological perspective be adopted with a view to tracing the evolution of the Spaniard's response to Baudelaire.

The role of textual evidence must also be reconsidered. The existence of extra-textual proof of influence effects the status of textual evidence in two ways. In the first place, it is Jiménez's admission of influence, not his poems, which provides the

logical point de départ for discussion of his debt to Baudelaire. Secondly, on this occasion it is not feasible to proceed on the assumption that the text is the sole repository of influences or, more precisely, that if all the inter-textual similarities could be proven to be influence or otherwise, they would furnish an accurate account of Jiménez's debt to Baudelaire. The comprehensive notion of influence implicit in the Spaniard's testimony makes it impossible to ignore the probability that a proportion of his debt may never have manifested itself in his poems, or may have done so only in an undetectable form.

On this occasion, then, textual evidence must cede its customary primacy to external sources of data, to pursue instead what may be defined as a supporting role. Where enquiry is dominated, as is the case here, by unequivocal yet imprecise admissions of influence, the presence or absence of inter-textual similarities can only serve as a basis for speculation regarding the more specific characteristics of the debt in question. The fact that an influence is known to have occurred, however, emphasises the hypothetical nature of such speculation. The open-ended, inconclusive speculation which is acceptable where influence exists only as a possibility acquires a fragile inconsequentiality which detracts from its dialectic effectiveness. The search to determine a more detailed profile of an influence which is unquestionable presents a target for conclusive resolution which hypothesis based on inter-textual similarities must aspire to meet, even if this is by definition impossible. Consequently, the burden of proof is exceptional. Where similarities occur, the possibility of Baudelairian influence must be weighed meticulous-

ly against alternative explanations. Absence of similarities demands equally careful consideration. The possibility of debt cannot be discounted, given the Spaniard's comprehensive concept of influence.

Under these circumstances, meaningful affirmations are heavily outnumbered by reservations and qualifications. Hypothesis risks sinking under the weight of steadily accumulating proposition and counter-proposition without finding a methodologically acceptable compromise between the possibility of influence and its inevitable indemonstrability. The solution to this problem would seem to lie in looking to textual evidence, not as a matter of course, but only when either there can be no doubt of Baudelairian influence or where external evidence gives reason so to do. Moreover, by adhering to this principle it becomes easier to respect through methodology the view of influence implicit in Jiménez's admissions of Baudelairian influence.

II. PRIMITIVE SCRIBBLINGS: JIMENEZ THE MODERNISTA

Juan Ramón Jiménez figures among Spanish <u>modernismo</u>'s most illustrious progeny. Today, however, his fame rests largely upon his mature production, composed after 'the acknowledged watershed of 1914' (2). His creative activity before this time had until quite recently been largely ignored by critics, possibly because Jiménez himself referred somewhat dismissively to his earlier work as 'borradores silvestres' (3). It is only due to the determination of perceptive critics such as Francisco Garfías and, in particular, R. A. Cardwell, that the character of Jiménez's early work and the extent to which it prefigured his subsequent production has been elucidated.

The period of Jiménez's 'borradores silvestres' spans the greater part of two decades, from his humble yet promising début in provincial reviews in the late 1890's to the composition of the collection entitled Laberinto, completed in 1911, but not published until 1913. This 'primera época' may be considered as a kind of literary apprenticeship, as a period of continual experimentation during which Jiménez sought to establish precedents both artistic and spiritual. During the course of these formative years, the young poet was receptive to numerous influences, notably from French sources. The impact of symbolistes and décadents was particularly significant (4). By 1910, signs began to emerge that Jiménez was approaching a watershed in his development as an artist, and that he was preparing the way, more or less consciously, for his ascent into the esoteric realms of poesía pura. Garfías refers to Laberinto, the last collection of the 'primera época', as 'el último escalón hacia la desnudez' (5). It is during this final phase of the Spaniard's first period of creativity that a final resurgence of French influence occurred. Subsequently, Jiménez's poetry evolved away from forms determined by the aesthetic legacy of modernista Symbolism.

It was during Jiménez's 'primera época' that he became acquainted with the work of Baudelaire, and he maintained some form of contact, albeit intermittent, with the Frenchman's writing throughout the whole of this period. For this reason, an examination of Baudelaire's influence on Jiménez should concentrate upon the 'primera época' in its entirety. The present study, however, purports to examine Baudelaire's influence in the Spanish modernistas, a classification which must be respected here if only

because it has been imposed, in preceding chapters. While Jiménez's *modernista* experience clearly belongs to the 'primera época', how far one is justified in considering the former to coincide with the latter is a matter for debate.

Few definitions of literary movements meet with unreserved unanimous acceptance, and *modernismo* is no exception. It has even been questioned whether one can truly speak of *modernismo* as a movement. 'Juan Ramón Jiménez', notes Ricardo Gullón in *Direcciones del modernismo* (2ª ed., Madrid 1971), 'sostiene que el modernismo no es una escuela ni un movimiento artístico, sino una época. Probablemente esta idea es exacta' (p. 7). The matter is further complicated when one seeks to define how far an individual writer can be said to merit the designation of *modernista*. A sceptic might argue that there is little justification for applying the term to Jiménez. It is certainly true that his affiliation to the coterie of artists who congregated around Darío at the turn of the century was a short-lived and not altogether positive experience. Jiménez did not officially join the ranks of these *modernistas* until 1900, when he was summoned to Madrid by Darío and Villaespesa. He did not lend his voice to the cause until almost six months later, when his first book of poems, *Almas de violeta* was published. By 1901 he had divorced himself from the Madrid circle and had returned, with a certain feeling of relief, to Moguer, to lead an independent artistic existence in his home town.

To define Jiménez's *modernismo*, purely in terms of the poet's experience in Madrid, however, fails to take into account the persistence of *modernista* elements in his work after this period, a fact which might well be used as evidence of a continuing affinity

of sensibility and aesthetics with other modernistas. R. A. Cardwell adopts this view in his seminal study Juan Ramón Jiménez. The Modernist Apprenticeship 1895-1900 (Berlin 1977), in which he argues that the same formative forces which engendered Spanish modernismo began to act upon the young Jiménez as early as 1895. Implicit in this contention is the belief that literary movements can be defined in terms of and affiliation to such movements assessed with reference to the influences which helped to determine their character. The solution to the problem of whether the term modernista can be applied to the whole of Jiménez's 'primera época' lies in accepting such a definition. To label this whole phase 'modernista' is justifiable in the sense that Jiménez probably began reading the writers whose works were to exert such a fundamental influence upon modernismo as early as the mid-to late 1890's, and that he continued to receive influences from some of their number until the end of the 'primera época'. This justifies examination, in the pages that follow, of the period of Jiménez's life and literary career from the mid 1890's to the end of the first decade of the present century. We will commence by attempting to establish precisely when Jiménez first became acquainted with Baudelaire's work, and when influence occurred subsequently.

III. INITIATIONS

'It is impossible', concludes R. A. Cardwell, 'to be precise about when Juan Ramón read the many writers he cites in reminiscences and various notes to the effect of "los que influyeron en mí" ' (Op. cit., p. 93). It is true that while Jiménez displayed an uncommon willingness to identify the writers who influenced him, he remained singularly uninformative with respect to precisely when he

first became acquainted with their work. We know that Jiménez's interest in Baudelaire was first significantly aroused as a result of reading Clarín's essay on the French poet. Alas's plea for an impartial reading of the French poet's work had first appeared in La Ilustración Ibérica in 1887, and was reprinted in Mezclilla, a compilation of critical essays, in 1891. 'Yo recuerdo', recalled Jiménez in Crítica paralela (Madrid, 1975), 'que cuando leí ese artículo de Clarín, al momento yo pedí las obras de Baudelaire a mí librería de Madrid' (p. 235). He omitted to mention, however, when exactly this significant discovery took place, and his testimony comes no nearer to elucidating the question of whether he was in any way familiar with Baudelaire's work before this moment in time.

It is probable that Jiménez had heard of Baudelaire and possible that he was familiar with aspects of the Frenchman's work, albeit indirectly or to a minimal degree, before his own literary career truly got underway with the publication of his first collections of verse, Ninfeas and Almas de violeta, in September 1900. In an interview with Ricardo Gullón, which was subsequently transcribed and published in the latter's Conversaciones con Juan Ramón Jiménez (Madrid 1958), the poet declared that '[m]ucho antes de ir a Francia [en 1901] yo estaba empapado de literatura francesa' (p. 100). Jiménez clearly considered his knowledge of French literature prior to his sojourn in France to be extensive, although the precise sense in which this should be understood remains unclear. He certainly appears to have been familiar with the work of the French Romantics, which, according to his biographer, Antonio Campoamor González, figured among his favourite reading while at University in the late 1890's.

It is equally plausible, however, to assume that at this time he had heard of and perhaps was even modestly acquainted with the work of later French writers, including some who, like Baudelaire, were regarded with tolerance only among the more liberal-minded, progressive circles of Spain's literary community. While travelling around the province of Seville in the summer of 1896, the young Jiménez made the acquaintance of Manuel Reina. Reina was among the first Spanish men of letters to show an interest in French literature after Romanticism, and it is not implausible to assume that he gave the young Jiménez the benefit of his knowledge on the occasion of their first meeting.

Another, incidental source of information concerning French writers after the Romantics may have been Jiménez's own growing concern regarding contemporary developments in Hispanic literature. While still at University he championed the cause of Darío in literary discussion, defending the author of Azul . . . and Prosas profanas against the criticisms and misgivings of traditionalists. Jiménez's principal source of information regarding Darío and other exponents of new trends were national and foreign literary reviews and newspapers, to which the young Spaniard was fortunate to have access during his late teens (6). It is more than likely that he would have learnt something of the work of Baudelaire and later French writers in the course of his readings. Indeed, R. A. Cardwell confidently suggests that Jiménez was thereby able to acquire 'a considerable knowledge of progressive European writers and of decadent trends while still in Seville' (Juan Ramón Jiménez. The Modernist Apprenticeship, p. 93).

Early in 1900, Jiménez was invited by Darío and Villaespesa to join the ranks of the modernistas in Madrid, where he arrived

on 13 April. In a pronouncement recorded by María Teresa Font, Jiménez declared that it was in this year that Baudelaire's influence first exerted itself upon him (7). There can certainly be little doubt that in Madrid the young Andalusian found himself in an environment propitious to the acquisition of knowledge of contemporary French literature, including the poetry of Baudelaire. He kept company with progressive young men of letters who were not only familiar with French works which had achieved the status of contemporary classics, but who also followed eagerly the latest artistic developments in Paris. Some indeed had lived in the French capital and moved in its literary circles.

However significant Jiménez's residence in Madrid proved to be for his knowledge of contemporary French literature and, in particular, his discovery of the works of Baudelaire, the importance of this experience is overshadowed by the year which the Spaniard spent from May 1901 convalescing from a nervous disorder in a Bordeaux sanatorium. All the evidence suggests that he took full advantage of the opportunity to immerse himself in French literature, in spiteof the fact that he declared later in a fit of Gallophobia that 'no conocí personalmente, ni tuve la intención de conocerlos, a ningún poeta francés (8). During his period of residence in France he read extensively. 'Me aficioné a los nuevos poetas franceses del Mercure', he was to state later, 'cuyos libros yo podía comprar en librerías vecinas' (9). Campoamor González reveals that Jiménez also read the poets of the preceding generations, including Baudelaire, when he refers in Vida y poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez (Madrid 1976), to

> sus lecturas de los poetas simbolistas franceses y otros que allí se discutían: Musset, Baudelaire,

> Lamartine, Mallarmé, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Amiel, D'Annunzio, Carducci, cuyos libros se ofrecían a su curiosidad en las librerías vecinas (p. 60).

Campoamor González's account of the facts is corroborated by Jiménez himself, who, speaking of the period immediately after his return from Bordeaux, said that

> [y]o me había traído de Francia muchos libros: Verlaine, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Laforgue, Corbière, Baudelaire, que me iban alejando más de Rubén Darío y llenando de reflejos más íntimos y latentes el camino particular de mi romance y de mi canción (10).

Subsequently, Jiménez may have re-established contact with Baudelaire's works incidentally, through his association with the literary publication Helios between 1903 and 1904. Once again Jiménez found himself working in collaboration with young writers sharing his interest in contemporary French literature, and it is possible that at times the work of Baudelaire, among others, could have been the subject of conversation or correspondence between them.

Before we proceed to examine the evolution of Baudelaire's influence on the Spanish poet, let us briefly re-consider his experience of Clarín's controversial essay on the French poet. In the light of the facts presented above, a more enlightened assessment of when this took place may be ventured. In the first place, the fact that Jiménez ordered Baudelaire's works from his booksellers in Madrid suggests that he was in Spain when he discovered Alas's interpretation, probably in Mezclilla (unless he had access to back numbers of La Ilustración Ibérica from 1887). It is improbable that he would have sent to Madrid for French books while resident in France. Secondly, it seems likely that he acquired

Baudelaire's works before going to France. It is known through his own admission that he brought a work or works by Baudelaire back to Spain when he returned from France, which would have made purchases which he undertook after reading Clarín's essay somewhat unnecessary and certainly less momentous than his reaction suggests. Thirdly, Jiménez was probably living in Andalusia when he sent for the books, since he speaks of ordering them from his Madrid booksellers. This would place the time of acquisition either before he was called to Madrid in 1900, or at some point between his return to Moguer and his departure for France in May 1901. Jiménez's declaration that he began to feel Baudelaire's influence in 1900 swings the balance in favour of the first of these periods.

IV. CHRONOLOGICAL COORDINATES

Juan Ramón Jiménez's own testimony allows the period during which he received the influence of Baudelaire to be delimited with relative precision. It would appear that the Frenchman's influence began to make itself felt quite soon after the Spaniard had established contact with his work, given his declaration that ([d]esde 1900 influyen en mí Rubén Darío . . . Baudelaire, Mallarmé' (11). The phase during which Baudelaire's influence exerted itself appears to have been the period of 'influencias jenerales' to which Jiménez alluded in La corriente infinita (Madrid 1961). 'Tal vez en mis años de influencias jenerales', he wrote here, 'me contajié de algunos simbolistas que tenían, con la fuerza, como Baudelaire, Rimbaud, por ejemplo, una estrema delicadeza' (p. 243). More precise indications regarding the duration of this phase and the range of influences

which it incorporated are to be found in a letter to Carmelo Trigo de Azuola dated 5 August 1943. Here, Jiménez clarified that the period during which he was receptive to a general French influence lasted from 1902 to 1912, and that by 1916 traces of the debt had begun to erase themselves from his work:

> Por los años 1902-1912, estuve muy influido por los simbolistas, desde el májico precursor Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, sus tres discípulos mayores, me fascinaban y los simbolistas menores, Moréas, Samain, de Régnier [los que en Francia] se ponían en primera línea, me gustaban mucho también. Por otra parte, Francis Jammes me parecía casi mío. En 1916, creo yo, y creen muchos críticos, mi personalidad particular se decide con el Diario de un poeta. Desde entonces me he alejado, o he creído alejarme más cada día, de Francia (12).

Further declarations by Jiménez suggest, however, that the extent and intensity of Baudelaire's influence fluctuated significantly during the course of these ten formative years. Even if the Spaniard was drawn to Baudelaire's work from the very outset, evidence suggests that initially the author of Les Fleurs du Mal had to compete with and almost inevitably took second place to other poets whose work made a more immediate impact and appealed more directly to Jiménez's sensibility and artistic consciousness in the early days of his career. Jiménez declared to Gullón that 'me eduqué con Verlaine, que fue, junto con Bécquer, el poeta que más influyó sobre mí, en el primer momento' (Conversaciones, p. 100). To these names might be added those of Darío and Reina, to note but two (13). This situation persisted for some years. Certainly by 1904, it does not appear that Baudelaire's work had succeeded in awakening a more substantial response in the young Spaniard. The Frenchman did not figure among the list of Jiménez's

'veinte poetas favoritos' - a comprehensive sample by any standards - which appeared at the beginning of Jardines lejanos, published in that year. Bernardo Gicovate in La poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez (Barcelona 1973) has suggested by way of explanation, that at this time, Jiménez's choice of cynosures was still determined by the immediate appeal of a limited number of poets whom modernismo had brought into vogue:

> [L]a ausencia de Baudelaire y Mallarmé es casi tan reveladora como la presencia de Verlaine o aun la del pobre Samain. Es que, a pesar de que el joven poeta ha vivido en Francia, no sigue todavía a los poetas franceses sino más bien su fama en el mundo modernista de su juventud (p. 74).

This view is contradicted by evidence regarding the range of Jiménez's reading experience at the time - notably that furnished by R. A. Cardwell in Juan Ramón Jiménez. The Modernista Apprenticeship. Jiménez's own testimony, however, does suggest that at least initially and possibly as late as 1904, his response to literature was essentially impressionistic in nature. This is implicit in a continuation of the passage referring to Verlaine and Bécquer cited above, in which Jiménez explained why he took longer to discover the value of Baudelaire's work. 'Luego vino Baudelaire', he went on, 'pero éste es de comprensión más difícil, más tardía' (Conversaciones, p. 100). Even though the Frenchman's work became known to Jiménez at a relatively early stage of his literary career, then, its immediate impact was limited by his failure to experience anything more than an impressionistic response to the 'fuerza' and 'delicadeza' which he encountered in the Frenchman's work.

The factors which brought Jiménez to a deeper understanding of

Baudelaire's work and which ultimately resulted in a particularly intense moment of influence within the general debt admitted by the Spaniard must, therefore, have arisen after 1904. The time when Jiménez found himself in a position to reconsider his initial impressions of Baudelaire can be determined by a process of elimination to have occurred at some stage during his retraimiento in Moguer, which lasted from 1905 to 1911 (14). This hypothesis is supported by the presence in Melancolía of two epigraphs from Les Fleurs du Mal, one from 'A une mendiante rousse' and another from 'Le Crépuscule du matin'. These examples of textual influence would suggest that Jiménez's response to Baudelaire's work reached an apogee at the time when the poems of this collection were being composed: 1910 to 1911, towards the end of the poet's retraimiento.

A brief digression is justified here, for the presence of evidence of influence in the text itself raises a matter of methodological interest. Had the epigraphs been the only evidence of Baudelaire's influence on Jiménez, it would have been impossible to draw the above conclusion. They would have proved no more than that Jiménez discovered or recalled some pertinent lines from Baudelaire at the moment when he was conceiving or composing the poems above in which the epigraphs appear (although it might justifiably be hypothesised that Jiménez had been reading Baudelaire's works during the period of composition). It is only the possibility of taking this evidence in conjunction with extra-textual testimony regarding the reality and duration of Baudelaire's influence - particularly the fact that his understanding of the Frenchman's work came later on during the period of 'influencias jenerales' - which allows more far-reaching deductions to be made

with confidence.

Let us now return to the matter at hand: the evolution of Baudelaire's impact upon Juan Ramón Jiménez. By way of conclusion it might be said that although Baudelaire exerted a general influence upon Jiménez in some shape or form throughout the period of the Spaniard's 'influencias jenerales', it was not until the final phase of this era that this formative action acquired a particular significance and specific character. The answer to why Jiménez was able to move beyond his initial, impressionistic response to the Frenchman's work, and to discover as a result a significance of which he had previously been unaware, lies in the physical and psychological conditions in which Jiménez spent his retraimiento.

V. A RETURN TO ORIGINS

The period of the retraimiento found Jiménez at his most prolific. Between 1907 and 1911 alone he composed no less than nine volumes of poetry. His commentators agree that this fecundity is to be attributed to an authentic creative impulse and not merely to a facility that came from the confidence gained by seeing his first literary efforts published and accepted. Antonio Campoamor González explains in Vida y poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez that

> [s]u labor poética de estos años, los más fecundos de su vida, corresponde . . . a una necesidad creativa, a una urgente e imperiosa voluntad de derramarse en versos día a día, y no a la actitud de quien, por ver publicados sus libros, estimula en demasía su imaginación y se abandona a una creación desordenada (p. 109).

One of the most cogent analyses of how Jiménez's literary predilections evolved during this period has been elaborated by

Bernardo Gicovate. This critic divides Jiménez's 'primera época' into two broad phases, both of which he defines and delimits in terms of predominant influences. The first, that of '[e]l primer Jiménez, el joven melancólico', is characterised by the influence of Verlaine. The second, which corresponds to the period from 1907 to 1910, reflects a spiritual and aesthetic crisis at the centre of which was Jiménez's anguished realisation that 'su vida había sido un fracaso de desorden lírico'. Gicovate considers the preliminary stage of this second phase to be transitional in character. During this stage, the diffuse chanson grise of Verlainian sensorial impressionism combined with an emergent intellectual and emotional disquiet deriving from an acute sense of existential disorientation to give rise to 'poemas de desorden sensorio extremo que repiten todos los excesos del simbolismo'. These embody what Gicovate, stressing the element of spiritual crisis, refers to as 'una revolución decadente del desorden, con las consabidas imágenes sinestéticas que quieren reproducir . . . la apasionada amargura de un fracaso luminoso de la mente' (La poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez, p. 78-81). This transitional phase ended, according to the critic, when Jiménez reacted against the unbridled aesthetic anarchy produced by spiritual and intellectual turmoil, and attempted to extract meaning and order from chaos. It is Gicovate's contention that at this point Jiménez reexplored more closely, the work of the Symboliste-décadent poets in whose psycho-aesthetic tradition he was immersed in the hope of elaborating a more structured vision of his own psychological predicament. Such, Gicovate suggests, were the circumstances in which Jiménez rediscovered the work of

Baudelaire:

> Después de un primer momento de dulce melancolía verlainiana . . . se pierde el poeta por vericuetos de impresionismo sensorial, en los que aprende a afinar el instrumento lírico hasta llegar a una maestría imponderable en su interpretación de la sensación fugitiva. Más tarde, en medio del disgusto de lo que él considera su fracaso, decide remontarse en la historia del simbolismo y halla el conflicto moral e intelectual que lo amenaza con su parálisis en la obra de Baudelaire (Op. cit., p. 88).

In the Frenchman's work, Gicovate concludes, Jiménez found a far more systematised documentation of the psychological tensions underlying Symbolist-décadent art, 'una actitud más viril', through which he was able to gain the awareness that 'la función del arte es precisamente la de salvarnos del desorden' (Op. cit., p. 84).

Whether or not one accepts Gicovate's analysis, the circumstances in which Jiménez spent his retraimento would alone probably have sufficed to induce Jiménez to undertake a more considered and penetrating reading of chosen works. Prolonged periods of semi-voluntary confinement in sanatoriums during the years preceding the poet's return to Moguer reflected and must, at the same time, have helped to nurture his preference for a milieu compatible with his contemplative, introspective personality and his inclination to solitude. His conscious decision to return to a life of relative isolation in Moguer can be interpreted, at least in part, as a purposeful attempt to seek an environment in which he could dedicate himself more fully to his literary vocation. His desire to do so may also have been reinforced by the misfortunes which beset his family not long before his return. These adverse circumstances no doubt accentuated the constitutional melancholy which R. A. Cardwell has diagnosed as a recurrence of Romantic malaise, and thereby encouraged the probing introspection characteristic of

sensitive individuals who seek to discover what Baudelaire referred to as '[l]e secret douloureux qui me faisait languir' ('La vie antérieure', OC, 51).

It is logical that under such circumstances Jiménez should have developed more than a superficial emotional response to the works which he read, especially when these reflected his own spiritual preoccupations and sense of vital disorientation. He would therefore have been in a position to discover the existential dimension of Baudelaire's work to which he had not hitherto gained access. These suppositions find support in Jiménez's declaration that

> [e]n mi campo, con los simbolistas, me nutrí plenamente de los clásicos españoles, . . . y año tras año de aquellos siete de soledad literaria, la fusión de todo, vida libre y lectura, va determinando un estilo que culminaría y acabaría en los Sonetos espirituales [1916] . Yo no andaba bien de salud, y la tristeza de tal falta es la esencia de mi escritura en aquel tiempo (15).

VI. IMPACT AND INFLUENCE: TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Evidence from autobiographical and biographical sources provides a reasonably clear picture of the chronological development of Jiménez's response to Baudelaire. In order to determine the character of this response, however, it is necessary to turn to literary texts. The sources of this kind are two in number. On the one hand, there are Jiménez's early poetical works. These, happily, have survived determined attempts by their author to destroy evidence that they ever existed in their original form, and have been collected together by Francisco Garfías under the title of Primeros libros de poesía. On the other hand, there is the edition of Les Fleurs du Mal, which Jiménez read during the early

years of his literary career and which, fortunately, is preserved in the University Library at Río Piedras, in Puerto Rico (16). We will begin by examining the latter.

1. Les Fleurs du Mal

The earlier of the two collections of Baudelaire's poetry which Jiménez possessed is the first volume from the 1868 edition of the Oeuvres complètes. It contains brief comments and underlinings which serve to identify those aspects of the Frenchman's verse which awakened a response in his Spanish reader. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine exactly when the poet was inspired to leave this graphic evidence of his reaction to the text, although it seems likely that a significant proportion dates from the period of the 'borradores silvestres'

When one comes to consider how this material might be exploited, one option which presents itself is that of examining Jiménez's poems in an attempt to ascertain whether the Spaniard's response to Les Fleurs du Mal carried over to his own poems in the form of textual influence. Investigations of this order do, admittedly, have a certain scholarly appeal, and may on occasions lead to significant revelations regarding the forces which participated in the genesis of particular poems. It should not be overlooked, however, that this approach owes its plausibility primarily to the absence of extra-textual evidence frequent in studies of influence. This situation has favoured the view that influence is a textual phenomenon, and, consequently, has given rise to methodologies which presuppose the literary text to be the focal point of critical activity. The view of influence implicit in Jiménez's testimony, however, does not confine the phenomenon to

its textual manifestation. 'Influencia' is equated with response in its totality, It is logical, therefore, that the pencil markings and annotations in the Spaniard's copy of Les Fleurs du Mal should be considered no less a manifestation of influence than any inter-textual similarity. Indeed, they provide a far more reliable source of data regarding the impact of Baudelaire on Jiménez than one could hope to encounter by examining the 'borradores silvestres' alone. Study of the Spaniard's poems would reveal the development of impact beyond reader response to textual influence only where there were visible traces of the latter in the poems themselves. Invisible influences would remain undetected, and the evidence provided by the instances of response which are not reflected in the text would remain unexploited.

Of the 151 poems published in the 1868 edition of Les Fleurs du Mal which Jiménez possessed, no less than seventeen - twelve from 'Spleen et Idéal' and five from the 'Tableaux parisiens' - bear traces of the Spaniard's response. The evidence reveals almost nothing about the nature of the poet's response. Verbal reaction, where it exists, amounts only to the most impressionistic of value judgements - 'Muy bella' is the most frequent - while more often than not there are simple unannotated markings: a vertical line alongside a particular verse, an underlining, a cross in the margin, or a combination of these. Yet if the elements selected by Jiménez are allowed to speak for themselves, certain patterns begin to emerge. In the first place, the majority involve aspects of Baudelaire's work which prefigure key aspects of Symbolist-décadent sensibility and aesthetics. A large number reflect the transcendental dimension of Symbolism,

the recognition of and aspiration to a higher reality behind the façade of the immediately perceived world or, more precisely, a higher plane of consciousness. On no less than four occasions, Jiménez's pencillings highlight lines expressing the existence of a mystical 'beyond': 'Va te purifier dans l'air supérieur', 'Le feu clair qui remplit les espaces limpides' ('Elévation, OC, 46), 'Où, derrière l'amas des ombres léthargiques, / Scintillent vaguement des trésors ignorés!' ('Les Yeux de Berthe', OC, 77), and 'Laisse voir la pauvreté / Et la beauté' from 'A une mendiante rousse', (OC, 95-96), a poem in which the ragged, dishevelled yet mysteriously alluring beggar girl becomes a symbol of the beauty which exists beneath, or beyond, the squalid façade of the here-and-now. In 'La Musique', (OC, 82), 'Harmonie du soir' (OC, 69), and 'Le Balcon', (OC, 63), the indications correspond to evocations of and allusions to modified or heightened consciousness, the catalysts to which are of a non-rational character: music ('La musique souvent me prend comme une mer'), the blending of accentuated sense perceptions - synaesthesia - ('Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l'air du soir; / Valse mélancolique et langoureux vertige'), and transcendental eroticism ('Que l'espace est profond! que le coeur est puissant! / En me penchant vers toi, reine des adorées, / Je croyais respirer le parfum de ton sang') respectively. In a similar fashion, the images 'Soleil monotone' of 'Parfum exotique' (OC, 56) and 'Vague tombeau' of 'Brumes et pluies' (OC, 105), both of which Jiménez underlined, are connected with the Symbolist-décadent preoccupation with loss of self through annihilation of the consciousness.

Jiménez's underlinings and annotations also correspond on several occasions to expression of the antithesis of the transcendental experience, the 'lourdes ténèbres' of Spleen. A pencil line underscores 'Par toi je change l'or en fer', the image which reflects the title in 'Alchimie de la douleur' (OC, 90). This poem evokes the sinister infiltration of the poet's perception by an inescapable sense of malaise. Also marked are 'La servante au grand coeur dont vous étiez jalouse' (OC, 104-105) and the final stanza of 'Le Balcon' (OC, 63), both of which express a sense of melancholy nostalgia for consolatory realities irremediably lost.

Another element of Symbolist-décadent sensibility found in Les Fleurs du Mal is the cult of refined or 'spiritualised' eroticism. This thematic aspect is present in passages and lines identified by Jiménez in 'Chanson d'après-midi' (OC, 75-76), 'Tristesses de la lune' (OC, 81), 'A une Malabaraise' (OC, 79), 'Le Soleil' (OC, 95), and 'A une mendiante rousse' (OC, 95-96).

Finally, expressions of interest by Jiménez can be found in association with poems embodying Baudelaire's conception, inherited by the Symbolist-décadent writers, of the function of art. 'Une Charogne' (OC, 58-59), described by the Spaniard as 'Muy bella', and 'A une mendiante rousse', develop the notion that squalid or even repulsive subject matter can be transformed into artistic beauty by the alchemy of the conscious creative act.

The thematic elements identified above derive directly from Symbolist-décadent sensibility and the psychological configuration underlying it. It follows, therefore, that if Jiménez's pencillings in his copy of Les Fleurs du Mal do in reality represent on any

occasion a response to these aspects of Baudelaire's work, the Spanish poet must have been able to relate to Symbolist-décadent preoccupations. His understanding of the significance of the passages or lines identified in the course of his reading of the text must have resulted from familiarity with the psychology and sensibility which had engendered them. If this were the case it would endorse R. A. Cardwell's contention that Jiménez possessed the psychological qualifications necessary to arrive at an intimate understanding of the Symbolist-décadent poets. If the pencillings could be dated, it might also provide valuable support for Gicovate's contention that during the period between 1907 and 1911, Jiménez, after an initial, transitional phase of aesthetic and spiritual disorientation, came to acquire, with the help of critical encounters with Symbolist texts, a clearer understanding of his own spiritual dilemma.

One should, nevertheless, not discount the possibility that the occurrence of evidence of Jiménez's response to the poems of Les Fleurs du Mal in association with certain themes characteristic of Symbolist-décadent art could have been merely coincidental, or at least incidental to other factors capable of arresting the Spaniard's attention. A significant number of the pencil markings in Jiménez's copy of Les Fleurs du Mal correspond to imagery. It is, therefore, equally feasible to define the elements indicated by the Spaniard in stylistic terms. This criterion for description is also a very logical one, since the stylistic device, with its structural autonomy and its capacity for poignant synthesis of form and content, constitutes a natural focus of attention in any poem. This interpretation would certainly seem valid in respect of lines and phrases such as 'Tes grands yeux de velours sont plus

noirs que ta chair' ('A une Malabaraise' (OC, 79), 'Les persiennes, abri des secrètes luxures' ('Le Soleil' (OC, 95), or 'C'était l'heure où l'essaim de rêves malfaisants / Tord sur leurs oreillers les bruns adolescents' ('Le Crépuscule du matin' (OC, 106), where the segment of the text identified by Jiménez's pencil is to be defined first and foremost by formal criteria, as an image. The precise source of Jiménez's interest is not, however, always evident. Where the passages marked are extensive, one must suppose that Jiménez responded to both content and expression in varying degrees. In the case of a poem like 'La servante au grand coeur . . .' (OC, 104-105), for example, there are no markings to single out individual verses, lines or even smaller linguistic units; the only comment is an appreciative 'muy bella' at the end of the poem. Here, it is logical to assume that Jiménez was impressed by the general conception of the poem, and that both content and expression served to engender this favourable response. This might also be said of the occasions on which he singled out complete verses, as in 'Une Charogne' (OC, 58-59) and 'Le Balcon' (OC, 63), where it is not really possible, without further evidence, to know precisely how and to what degree content or expression would have drawn the Spaniard's attention. Generally speaking, this ambiguity decreases the shorter the element identified by Jiménez becomes. A single line or a couple of words usually correspond to a precise unit of expression, which reveals by its very nature the catalyst to response on this particular occasion. 'Les persiennes, abri des secrètes luxures' ('Le Soleil'), 'un vague tombeau' ('Brumes et pluies' (OC, 105) and 'un soleil monotone' ('Parfum exotique' (OC, 56), are all images, or component parts of images; which at the same time

appeal, through their content to the Symbolist-décadent imagination. In 'Par toi je change l'or en fer', expression of conceptual meaning and image are indissoluble and mutually complementary, and it would be logical to assume that Jiménez would have been impressed by the synthesis of both aspects on this occasion. At the same time, however, there is not always a direct correlation between the length of the element indicated by Jiménez and the ease with which the source of its appeal can be identified. The sonnet 'Tristesses de la lune' (OC, 81), for example, is one unbroken, extended metaphor, of which Jiménez identified no less than eight lines. Although on this occasion more precise indications in the second quatrain (the underlined seventh and eighth lines - 'Et promène ses yeux sur les visions blanches / Qui montent dans l'azur comme des floraisons' - which in themselves constitute a second level of imagery, in this case characteristic Symbolist iconography) must be taken into account, the first quatrain still remains identified in its entirety.

One single overriding factor favours the theory that expression as opposed to content determined Jiménez's selection of interesting lines or verses. We refer here to the frequency with which figurative constructs occur among the clearly-defined units usually of stanza length or less, of which the Spaniard's focus of response is almost entirely composed. This is extraordinary even given the high concentration of such stylistic devices in Baudelaire's poetry. Of the 24 separate clearly-delimited elements selected by Jiménez in his copy of Les Fleurs du Mal, figurative constructs comprise or occur in no less than 17. In all they contain some 10 metaphors and 9 similes. The matter, however, does not rest here. Further evidence suggests that on several of these occasions

at least, Jiménez's interest in the imagery of Les Fleurs du Mal was that of a stylistic technician and not merely a response to its originality of conception. On four occasions, Jiménez used further markings in addition to underlinings to identify points of interest. In the last verse of 'Le Balcon' (OC, 63), which is highlighted by a vertical line, a cross appears against the line 'Comme montent au ciel les soleils rajeunis'. In 'Le Soleil' (OC, 95), the line 'Les persiennes, abri des secrètes luxures', which Jiménez underlined, also has a cross by it. Another cross appears beside the first line of 'La Musique' (OC, 82) 'La musique souvent me prend comme une mer'. This line is also underlined, while a bracket divides the line before the word 'comme'. A further bracket also precedes the 'Comme' with which the sixth line - 'Comme de la toile' - begins. Taken in isolation, each of these lines might appear to have caught the Spaniard's eye for a variety of reasons. When studied together, however, it readily becomes apparent that they share one fundamental characteristic. All are examples of figurative constructs. More precisely, all, with one exception: the line from 'Le Soleil', which is a metaphor, are conventional similes using the comparative 'comme'. The clue to what provoked Jiménez's reaction to these images may lie in the brackets. Like the crosses, they identify overt, unequivocal comparisons, and it may have been the geometrical balance of these figurative devices to which Jiménez responded. Perhaps, however, it is possible to go a stage further in the elucidation of the nature of the Spaniard's reaction on these occasions. Assuming that the function of parenthesis is to contain an intrusive or redundant

element, is it not possible that Jiménez was aware that the relationship between comparatum and comparandum in figurative expressions might have adopted a more subtle form than the mathematical kind of equivalence favoured by Baudelaire? Could the Spaniard have been responding here to what has been acknowledged in respect of the final stanza of 'L'Albatros' (OC, 45), that Baudelaire used Symbolist techniques in the creation of imaginative symbols, only to turn them into metaphor, simile or allegory through the irresistible habit of creating over-explicit equivalences? If this were so, it would indicate that at the time of pencilling in the crosses and brackets, Jiménez's comprehension of Symbolist aesthetics had reached a stage by which he was clearly able to appreciate Mallarmé's famous declaration that

> [n]ommer un objet, c'est supprimer les trois quarts de la jouissance du poème qui est fait du bonheur de deviner peu à peu; le suggérer, voilà le rêve. C'est le parfait usage de ce mystère qui constitue le symbole: évoquer petit à petit un objet pour montrer un état d'âme, ou, inversement, choisir un objet et en dégager un état d'âme par une série de déchiffrements (17).

It might also indicate the origin of Jiménez's own perception expressed years later that Baudelaire 'procede por comparación. El simbolismo va directo' (18).

It is, of course, impossible to be absolutely certain regarding the factors which motivated Jiménez to pencil comments or underlinings in his copy of Les Fleurs du Mal. Even if one allows the passages and elements underlined to speak for themselves, one cannot be sure not to have put words into their mouths. At the same time, however, it is undeniable that the elements marked

by the Spaniard readily fall into patterns, and that whether the common denominator be content or expression, conceptual or technical, all the evidence supports the hypothesis that at the time of reading the poems Jiménez possessed a genuine awareness and appreciation of Symbolist-décadent preoccupations on both a psychological and aesthetic level. This would endorse Gicovate's belief that the Spaniard's reading of Baudelaire coincided with an attempt to explore systematically the spiritual predicament which he not only felt within himself but had detected as underlying the work of many of the French writers with whose work he had become acquainted during the first phase of his literary career. Finally, the underlinings give the impression that Jiménez, unlike, for example, Villaespesa, was not only capable of close, critical and committed readings of text which he read, but that he also learnt from his reading experiences.

2. Apposite epigraphs

On reading the Primeros libros de poesía, one discovers that Baudelairian influence only manifests itself in indisputable terms in the collection Melancolía. Here, epigraphs bear witness to Jiménez's indebtedness to two poems from the 'Tableaux parisiens', 'A une mendiante rousse' (OC, 95-96) and 'Le Crépuscule du matin' (OC, 106).

The first of these epigraphs introduces the ninth poem of the subsection of Melancolía entitled 'Hoy' ('Otra vez la esperanza! . . .', PLP, 1433), and comprises a quotation from 'A une mendiante rousse':

> . . . Dont la robe par ses trous
> Laisse voir la pauvreté

Et la beauté . . .

Jiménez's poem evokes a poignant psychological moment, one which is of key significance in elucidating the psychology of his spiritual development away from the nineteenth-century legacy of the mal du siècle. The poet, having reached the farthest point of arid despair and spiritual sterility, fleetingly senses the possibility of rebirth and regeneration. It is the phase which prefigures the Sartrian insight that 'la vie recommence à l'autre côté du désespoir', the belief that a new greater reality awaits discovery beyond the Baudelairian 'lourdes ténèbres' of a configuration of consciousness which has played host to disillusion, taedium vitae, paralysis of the will and spiritual anguish. As the poet's existential neurosis reaches this phase of development, visions of hope and anguish alternate: 'tiene mi alma bruscas alternativas / de sol y llanto'. The possibility of transcendence is real, but the means to achieve it remains unknown:

> No sé qué hacer, ni adónde - ¡ni cómo!,
> ¡ni por dónde! -
> salir . . . ¡Soy cual un ciego de deslumbrantes
> ojos . . . ;
> llamo a lo eterno - lo sé bien - y me responde . . . ;
> mas la senda está oculta entre peligros rojos!

On this occasion, Jiménez appears to have encountered in Baudelaire's image of a ragged but alluring beggar girl, (an example of how artistic beauty is to be discovered in the less salubrious aspects of modern urban life) an apposite and inspiring correlative to his own paradoxical experience, oscillating between utter despondency and regenerative illumination. The influence of the epigraph from 'A une mendiante rousse' is clearly visible in the

lines '¡Ah, mi vida! ¡Lo mismo que una diosa / mendiga, por sus rotos andrajos muestra el cielo!' Jiménez, then, appropriated the exact image which Baudelaire used in the cause of modernité to express how spiritual rebirth can only come about through a total breakdown of the consciousness. The poet can only discover the possibility of spiritual regeneration and the attendant sense of plenitude when he has reached a state of ultimate emotional and intellectual abjection.

The second epigraph found in Melancolía comes from 'Le Crépuscule du matin'. The lines 'C'était l'heure où l'essaim des rêves malfaisants / Tord sur leurs oreillers le [s] bruns adolescents' appear before the poem beginning 'Entre las nubes rotas del oriente . . .' (PLP, 1445). On this occasion, Jiménez appears to have responded less to the conceptual value of the quotation chosen, than to the imagery contained therein, the function of which is to recreate the poet's mood at dawn. Jiménez's poem, too, evokes the état d'âme experienced as darkness recedes after a night of tormented half-dreams, neurotic insomnia and emotional turmoil. The poet is in a state of nervous exhaustion, and assailed by a sense of disgust, malaise and erotic exasperation. The dawn is tinged with 'tonos sucios y soñolientos', as the poet, 'desvelado y sediento' lies prostrate in his 'revuelto lecho' plagued by '[f]río y fiebre'. The similarities with 'Le Crépuscule du matin', however, extend beyond the state of mind evoked. Just as in Baudelaire's poem, the poet's sense of acute emotional and physical unease is projected on to troubled adolescents, work-weary poets, exhausted prostitutes, invalids on their deathbeds and revellers faced with the stale aftertaste of hedonism and debauchery, so the Spaniard conjures up

similarly poignant visions of mothers who have lost their children, or widows who 'torcerán sus sexos inútiles': figures who reflect his own sense of spiritual deprivation and incompletion.

When viewed in the light of the extra-textual evidence of influence which Jiménez obligingly left to posterity, the presence of these epigraphs points to the conclusion that Jiménez was reading (or more probably re-reading) Baudelaire's poetry at the time of writing Melancolía. While it should not be forgotten that the epigraphs alone constitute the only indisputable proof of Jiménez's debt to the Frenchman in this particular volume of poems, their presence nevertheless serves to strengthen the possibility that other similarities within Melancolía, and particularly in the immediate context within which the epigraphs are found, might also be explainable in terms of Baudelairian influence.

3. Textual similarities in Melancolía

With respect to the points of contact which exist between Les Fleurs du Mal and Melancolía as a whole, a distinction can be made (with a margin of overlap) between similarities which recall a particular source in Baudelaire's work, thereby suggesting a possibility of influence, and less precise but recurrent resemblances which correspond to general aspects or trends which are found in Les Fleurs du Mal. The former merit close comparison with the elements which they resemble. The latter, on the other hand, are better viewed collectively, as evidence that Jiménez partook of the psycho-aesthetic tradition deriving from Baudelaire.

The generic resemblances derive more or less directly from the general psychological substructure or 'sensibility' underlying

the aesthetic tradition that began with Baudelaire, and their presence in Melancolía suggests that Jiménez could have readily experienced a sense of affinity with the thought and temperament of the author of Les Fleurs du Mal. The Spaniard could have encountered in Baudelaire's poems a correspondence of his own states of mind, insights and preoccupations, although it does not necessarily follow that the Frenchman's poems provided a source of inspiration for Jiménez's verse creations. The poet of Melancolía, like the author of Les Fleurs du Mal (and less like his earlier source of inspiration, Verlaine), consciously classifies his experience according to two polarised modes of consciousness: a sense, on the one hand, that he is condemned to spiritual incompletion, when his malaise appears to be constitional and, to borrow Baudelaire's words, '[p]rend les proportions de l'immortalité' (Spleen', OC, 85); and, on the other, a fleeting sense of visionary enlightenment which gives the poet a foretaste of a higher, harmonious form of existence, the possibility of which he intuits but is unable to realize. This dichotomy is expressed in verses such as

> Un afán imposible de lujos sensuales
> llevaba, entre visiones, al alma melancólica,
> . . . afán de llegar pronto . . . o de no llegar nunca . . .
> a no sé dónde . . . , ¡para qué! . . . , a no sé qué hora . . .
> (PLP, 1339).

or

> ¿Mi corazón está muerto? ¿La pesadilla
> es mi vida? . . . ¿O vendrán al corazón caído
> horas en que esta pena mojada y amarilla

sea como un ensueño borroso y sin sentido?
(PLP, 1372).

Amidst this confusion of conflicting and irreconcilable perceptions surfaces a Baudelairian sense of regret for lost harmonies, a 'nostalgia constante de cosas mejores' (PLP, 1431):

Los sueños que se fueron no vuelven . . . ¿Quién convoca
esos jardines idos, de rosas y laureles,
que dejan hueca el alma, y en la marchita boca
un amargor profuso de inacabables hieles?
(PLP, 1374).

This emotion is frequently evoked during moments of involuntary recollection, the catalysts to which are inevitably non-rational in character:

Pesado es el recuerdo, como un negro nublado,
la humedad tiene una nostalgia indefinible . . .
y no queda otra cosa, bajo el cielo cargado,
que un sueño de letargo y un hedor imposible . . .
(PLP, 1369).

One also finds in Melancolía the Baudelairian predilection for crepuscular scenarios, and in particular the poignant sunset hour, which figures either as a temporal setting or as an image in no less than 37 of the 96 poems of the collection. An equally clear parallel can be observed between Jiménez's and Baudelaire's depiction of the city. In the work of both poets, rowdy, hedonistic, materialistic urban life with its insatiable quest for ephemeral gratification, 'ce bourreau sans merci', appears in an antithetical relationship to the

enclosed, refined emotional microcosm of the poet, who explores, sometimes with claustrophobic introspection, the mysterious workings of his tormented soul. In a manner reminiscent of 'Recueillement' (OC, 101), one poem contrasts the hypersensitive contemplative, savouring in solitude the emotions evoked by cherished surroundings -

> Ese sol de oro y malva de las últimas horas,
> soñando en las paredes ideales del cuarto . . .
> la brisa limpia y suave, que mece en el balcón
> las hojas encendidas de algún rojo geranio . . .
>
> ¡los libros, verdes, negros, azules, en un limbo
> de luz serena, plenos de amor y de contagio . . .

- with 'el rumor, allá lejos, de la hirviente ciudad /resonando en la suntuosidad del ocaso' (PLP, 1398). Similarly, in 'Palabras de amistad vendrían . . . ?' (PLP, 1420), the poet, preferring 'la soledad del amor y los versos', yearns for

> la paz, esa paz que no tienen los hombres
> que, en las locas ciudades, luchan, palpitan, corren
> detrás de las absurdas trompetas del renombre.

Elsewhere he refers to the city which 'bajo el húmedo temblor de las estrellas / del crepúsculo, aguza sus quejas y sus fuegos' (PLP, 1447).

In Melancolía, however, the resemblance which the image of the city bears to that present in Les Fleurs du Mal is more than conceptually generic. It echoes closely in its composition the terms in which the French poet evoked the phenomenon of urban life in his 'city' poems. Present in lines such as 'La rue assourdissante

autour de moi hurlait' ('A une passante', OC, 101), 'Recueille-toi, mon âme, en ce grave moment / Et ferme ton oreille à ce rugissement' ('Le Crépuscule du soir', OC, 102), and

> Pendant que des mortels la multitude vile,
> Sous le fouet du plaisir, ce bourreau sans merci,
> Va cueillir des remords dans la fête servile,
> Ma Douleur, donne - moi la main; viens par ici.
> ('Recueillement' OC, 101)

are the specific aspects which recur in Jiménez's perception of the city: the life of the urban masses as a form of frenzied loss of self and moral anaesthesia, the cult of false gods - success and ephemeral pleasure - and consciousness, often experienced at the sunset hour, of the contrast between this mode of existence and the melancholy hypersensitivity of the poet, immune, in his spiritual alienation, to the appeal of such motivations. Jiménez was not, of course, dependent upon sources other than his own experience for his awareness of the nature of urban existence or of its value as a reference point in the description of his psychology as a poet and that of others working in the same psycho-aesthetic tradition as him. He was only too familiar with city life in all its indelicacy, and fully aware of the adverse effects of such an environment upon his sensibility. Biographical and autobiographical evidence to this effect is complemented by the occasional evocations of the city in Melancolía itself:

> El enorme crepúsculo de cobre y de carmín
> inflama la ciudad . . . ¿Qué hago yo aquí . . . ,
> perdido?
> . . . Soy, entre tantos hombres como un niño en los
> bosques . . .
> (PLP, 1454)

> Oh, qué tristes son estos regresos, de los campos
> a la ciudad! Los cuerpos van rotos de cansancio,
> . . . y todos los ruidos suenan en el ocaso
> (PLP, 1418).

It would be naïve, therefore, to suggest that the Spaniard's perception of the city as expressed in Melancolía was necessarily a result of having read Baudelaire. It is, however, possible that the presence of the theme of urban life in Melancolía may have been encouraged and its presentation influenced by contact with Les Fleurs du Mal. Jiménez would certainly have encountered in the Frenchman's verse a vision of the city akin to his own. Nevertheless, one can only speculate, for the question of Baudelaire's influence with respect to this matter, cannot in all honesty be answered on the basis of existing evidence.

Further similarities suggesting a possibility of influence are to be encountered elsewhere in Melancolía. The poem beginning 'Ese sol de oro y malva de las últimas horas . . . ? (PLP, 1398), for example, recalls 'Recueillement' (OC, 101), in its evocation of the poignant sunset hour when the poet's emotions and senses reawaken, while the clamour of the city filters through from the distance. The possibility that recollection of Baudelaire's poem could have inspired these verses or complemented Jiménez's own inspiration derives less from any close structural affinity than from ingredients common to both poems: a spectacular sunset, the distant urban bustle, poetic isolation and reawakening of the sensibility.

Even with external evidence of influence, however, we can come no nearer to establishing for certain whether these similarities

represent part of Jiménez's debt to Baudelaire than would be possible if no such evidence existed. Data regarding Jiménez's response to Baudelaire's work during the period when he was composing Melancolía is too imprecise to support conclusive pronouncements in respect of influences. On this occasion, it merely becomes feasible to formulate a more specific declaration regarding the possibility of influence than that which is justified where no external evidence exists to put textual facts into focus. That is to say, the conclusion can be drawn that a causal relation might exist between the presence of similarities (including those displaying a low degree of resemblance) and the re-reading of Baudelaire's poems which Jiménez, it seems likely, was engaged in at the time he was composing Melancolía.

4. The context of the epigraphs

Ultimately, one can be no more certain that the similarities occurring in close proximity to the epigraphs are actual instances of influence than one can in respect of resemblances elsewhere in Melancolía. The likelihood of influences in the immediate context of the epigraphs is, however, theoretically greater, given that poems gathered together as one subsection of a collection presumably represent a more particular unity of inspiration than that underlying the collection as a whole.

It is in the subsection of Melancolía entitled 'Hoy' that the spirit of Baudelaire's verse finds its most poignant and concentrated echo in Jiménez's early work. The similarities, which extend from themes to imagery and lexis, bear witness to the existence of significant coincidences between the particular psychological tensions documented by Jiménez and the broad pattern

of the existential drama which underpins Les Fleurs du Mal. When this affinity is considered in the light of evidence to the effect that the Spaniard had renewed contact with Baudelaire's work at the time of composing the poems of 'Hoy', it is logical to assume that what is demonstrably true in respect of the epigraph from 'A une mediante rousse' and the poem (IX, PLP, 1433) which follows, is also potentially true for the other poems of 'Hoy' which contain reminiscences of Baudelaire and the element of the Frenchman's work which might have been their sources: that Jiménez, when writing 'Hoy', was in a position to undertake an unusually sensitive and perceptive reading of Baudelaire and, consequently, to receive the Frenchman's influence when articulating his own spiritual dilemma.

In 'Hoy', the poet reaches the threshold of a new consciousness. The malaise which pervades the preceding 'chapters' of Melancolía reaches its most acute, most exasperated phase, as Jiménez experiences a sense of spiritual collapse under the corrosive affliction of 'tedio y . . . amargura' (VII, PLP, 1431). Yet paradoxically in the midst of this utter abjection and emotional exhaustion, he has fleeting intuitions of spiritual rebirth, of the rise of a new being from the old - what Baudelaire referred to as 'la certitude d'une existence meilleure' (OC, 568). This tension between polarised insights is expressed in lines such as 'Dice la vida: ¡Vive!, y me cierra el camino . . . ' (V, PLP, 1429). Consequently, the poems of 'Hoy' reflect a Baudelairian 'double postulation' embracing two forms of consciousness corresponding to those of Spleen and Idéal. The former is depicted graphically in the opening stanza of poem III (PLP, 1427).

Cabalgatas de penas desfilan por mi vida

Como nubes dramáticas de un ocaso de invierno
Sombría está de ellas mi alma, desvanecida
y medrosa, lo mismo que un crepúsculo eterno

The latter, 'ilusión florida que . . . abre lo invisible (VI, PLP, 1430) is represented with equal force in the poet's conviction, in or as a result of moments of illumination, that it is possible to escape the confines of anguish and to tap a source of life-giving power deep in the self:

Yo no sé si esta vida sin mudanza es la vida,
yo no sé si es mejor o peor la muerte . . . ;
. . . ¡mas sé que el sol interno que me dora la herida,
de oro fino que era, me hace de hierro fuerte!
(IV, PLP 1428).

In this polarisation of two states of consciousness, however, is to be found yet another feature which draws Jiménez's poetry closer to that of Baudelaire. Beneath the powerful emotional overtones, 'Hoy' presents a structural, systematised vision of the poet's dilemma. The vague diaphanous evocations of imprecise moods of his earlier, 'impressionistic' poetry (traces of which survive in the earlier sections of Melancolía) has yielded to a spirit of tormented lucidity, of restless analytical introspection and mood-monitoring consonant with that which pervades Les Fleurs du Mal. By this time, then, Jiménez seems to have begun to conceptualise his perception of the tensions within him, as Baudelaire had done before (and as Gicovate argues in respect of this phase of the Spaniard's literary career).

Many of the particular states of mind or moments of experience evoked in individual poems of 'Hoy' have counterparts in Les Fleurs

du Mal. The first poem (PLP, 1425) expresses a sense of ennui, nostalgia for a previous, better existence and painful metaphysical uncertainty in a way which is reminiscent of Spleen ('Pluviôse', OC, 85), while III (PLP, 1427) evokes a state of anguished disillusion comparable to that found in 'Causerie' (OC, 74). The same is true of IV (PLP, 1428), in which the state is more abject and arid. V (PLP, 1429) expresses, like 'Le Gouffre' (OC, 88), exasperated frustration in a seemingly futile quest for the infinite. VII and VIII (PLP, 1431-32) are Spleen poems, the latter concluding with a desperate plea for anguish to end which is reminiscent of the final two stanzas of 'L'Irréparable' (OC, 73). X (PLP, 1434) also evokes an arid state of mind of the Spleen variety, only to end on an exaltedly optimistic note.

These poems refer to psychological experiences which motivate the poet before influence takes place. On the occasions enumerated above, therefore, the resemblance to poems by Baudelaire is purely coincidental. It is, however, feasible that one writer should influence the way in which another perceives and interprets his experience (and consequently his selection of 'significant moments'). This possibility cannot entirely be discounted here, given the likelihood that reading Baudelaire may have helped Jiménez to conceptualise and interpret his own inner events. Evidence upon which to hypothesise further in this direction, is, however, lacking. Far more viable grounds upon which to debate the possibility of a debt to Baudelaire are to be found in concrete stylistic, formal and lexical features within the poems. Even here there can be little question of proving influence, since the similarities themselves offer insufficient evidence.

Nevertheless, the degree of similarity together with the circumstances under which the poems of 'Hoy' were composed - Jiménez's contact with Baudelaire's work at the time - make for favourable conditions under which to elaborate a hypothesis regarding the possibility of influence. To this effect, it is convenient to classify the similarities, not only in terms of their nature as stylistic phenomenon but, more fundamentally, according to the type of influence which they would represent were influence to be proven. A distinction can be made between, on the one hand, similarities involving stylistic formulae and patterns of lexical items, which indicate an assimilation of general trends, and, on the other, those which recall particular sources and therefore indicate the more direct influence.

The features belonging to the first of these categories which occurs most frequently in 'Hoy' is the personified abstraction. This stylistic device appears widely throughout Baudelaire's poetry, though some of the best examples are to be found in Spleen ('Quand le ciel bas et lourd pèse comme un couvercle' OC, 88): 'l'esprit gémissant en proie aux longs ennuis', 'l'Espérance, comme une chauve-souris, / S'en va battant les murs de son aile timide / Et se cognant la tête à des plafonds pourris', 'l'Espoir, / Vaincu, pleure', and 'l'Angoisse atroce, despotique, / Sur mon crâne incliné plante son drapeau noir'. In 'Hoy' can be found, by way of comparison 'el alma tiene hambre, la muerte vela a un lado' (I, PLP, 1425), 'mi alma, desvanecida y medrosa' (III, PLP, 1427), 'el alma, libre, sueña' (VI, PLP, 1430), 'se despierta la carne' (VI, PLP, 1430), 'el corazón . . . / defendiendo su carne como una virgen pura', 'el silencio . . . , ¡que llena el papel de poesía / con una sangre lenta de tedio y de

amargura! (VII, PLP, 1431), 'Como un fantasma, se adelanta el remordimiento', 'medrosa la gloria' (VIII, PLP, 1432), 'el tedio llora', 'la hora augusta se va con su sandalia alada' (XI, PLP, 1435), 'pretende el cansancio renovarse a sí mismo, / mas cae, ¡el triste!, hastiado, desordenado, inerte' (XII, PLP, 1436), and finally 'a un lado, se sonríe - ¡también hueca! - la muerte' (XII, PLP, 1436). It must be stressed that here we can only suppose the possibility of influence. Such devices are by no means unique to Baudelaire, and there are no close resemblances to suggest a direct influence. Yet it still remains that Jiménez's recourse to the personified abstraction could have been prompted or nurtured in some way by his reading of Baudelaire's poetry, where the device would have appeared recurrently to impress itself upon the Spaniard's receptive consciousness.

'Hoy' also contains examples of a stylistic device used by Baudelaire which is, in a manner of speaking, the converse of the personified abstraction. Depersonification of the self - turning the moi into a setting or scenario for symbolic events - as a means of evoking a state of mind is a technique found in poems such as 'Le Chat' (OC, 71) in the lines 'Dans ma cervelle se promène, / Ainsi qu'en son appartement, / Un beau chat'; 'Causerie' (OC, 74) in the line 'Mon coeur est un palais flétri par la cohue'; 'L'Irréparable' (OC, 74-75) where 'mon coeur' is described as 'un théâtre où l'on attend / Toujours, toujours en vain, l'Être aux ailes de gaze!'; 'Spleen' ('J'ai plus de souvenirs . . .', OC, 85), in which the poet describes 'mon triste cerveau' as 'une pyramide, un immense caveau, / Qui contient plus de morts que la fosse commune', and himself as 'un cime-

tière abhorré de la lune', 'un vieux boudoir plein de roses fanées', and ultimately, 'un granit entouré d'une vague épouvante'; and 'Spleen' ('Quand le ciel bas et lourd . . . OC, 88), in which 'de longs corbillards, sans tambours ni musique, / Défilent lentement dans mon âme'. Objectivisation of the self occurs in three poems of 'Hoy'. In III, (PLP, 1427), we find 'Cabalgatas de penas desfilan por mi vida'. This image also happens to recall in a more precise sense the sombre cortège of 'Spleen' ('Quand le ciel bas et lourd . . .'). In VIII, (PLP, 1432), the poet yearns for the intercession of some regenerative force which would 'convertir el pecho / en una estrella grande, serena y luminosa', while in X (PLP, 1434), the poet's mortal self has become a '[c]árcel sombría, hecha de todos mis instintos'.

Another category of similarity manifests itself in the form of imagery. Six images found in 'Hoy' recall precise sources in Baudelaire's poetry. In poem IV 'El hogar es lo mismo que un calabozo impuro' recalls the sense of disgust and spiritual incarceration expressed in 'Spleen' '(Quand le ciel bas et lourd . . .') in several images: 'la terre est changée en un cachot humide [aux] plafonds pourris', 'la pluie . . . / D'une vaste prison imite les barreaux'. The spirit of Baudelaire's poetry is further captured in the use of the adjective 'impuro', and the comparative 'lo mismo que', which recalls the Frenchman's frequent recourse to 'ainsi que'. A further point of contact between poem IV of 'Hoy' and the 'Spleen' poem identified above is to be found in the simile 'como un cerco de piedra me oprime la distancia'. This evokes a sense of claustrophobic oppression similar to that created in the first stanza of Baudelaire's poem:

Quand le ciel bas et lourd pèse comme un couvercle

. . . . . .

Et que de l'horizon embrassant tout le cercle

Il nous verse un jour noir plus triste que les nuits

The same could be said of 'parece el horizonte un cinturón de hierro' (X, PLP, 1434). Another image from poem IV of 'Hoy' - 'el pan de cada día me lo como maldito' - brings to mind the lines from 'Bénédiction' (OC, 44-45), 'Dans le pain et le vin destinés à sa bouche [celle du poète] / Ils [les amis de celui-là] mêlent de la cendre avec d'impurs crachats'. The possibility of a causal link between poem IV of 'Hoy' and 'Bénédiction' is further reinforced by the presence of the term 'maldito', which recalls Baudelaire's somewhat ironic use of the term 'Bénédiction' - blessing - in the title and (implicitly) in the first thirteen stanzas of the poem thus entitled. In poem VI (PLP, 1430), the image of the poet as a torturer who applies the instruments of analytical introspection to his soul with inquisitorial relentlessness until he falls exhausted - 'El verdugo se duerme' - invites comparison with that presented by Baudelaire in 'L'Héautontimorouménos' (OC, 91) - self-torturer or self-executioner -, in which the poet declares:

Je suis la plaie et le couteau!

Je suis le soufflet et la joue!

Je suis les membres et la roue,

Et la victime et le bourreau!

Je suis de mon coeur le vampire

Finally, a coincidence is to be found between the choice of imagery

in two poems expressing how the negative forces which dominate the poet's consciousness stifle any sense of visionary hope before it is able to take root. Jiménez's anguished recognition in poem V (PLP, 1429), that 'una ansia delirante de eternidad me inflama . . . / pero / [e]l destino . . . / sopla sobre mi llama' echoes Baudelaire's solemn, dispirited acknowledgement in 'L'Irréparable' (OC, 73-74) that 'L'Espérance qui brille aux carreaux de l'Auberge / Est soufflée'.

Images in 'Hoy' which recall characteristic patterns of imagery in Les Fleurs du Mal rather than precise sources, include 'Cárcel sombría hecha de todos mis instintos' (X, PLP, 1434), which recalls (as do 'como un cerco de piedra me oprime la distancia' and 'parece el horizonte un cinturón de hierro', both mentioned above) Baudelaire's use of images of physical oppression or confinement to evoke a sense of spiritual constriction ('Quand le ciel bas et lourd pèse comme un couvercle', 'Spleen', OC, 88); 'les vagues terreurs de ces affreuses nuits / Qui compriment le coeur comme un papier qu'on froisse', 'Réversibilite', OC, 66); 'lo demás lo arrastraron los vientos indigentes' (III, PLP, 1427), which invites comparison with the notion of ravage or despoilment of the self expressed in images such as 'Le tonnerre et la pluie ont fait un tel ravage, / Qu'il reste dans mon jardin bien peu de fruits vermeils' ('L'Ennemi', OC, 49); 'el paisaje de invierno se ve . . . / en un encogimiento de miseria y de frío' (I, PLP, 1425), which recapture Baudelaire's use of physical correlatives - sensations - for spiritual unrest, as, for example, in 'Tout l'hiver va rentrer dans mon être: colère, / Haine, frissons, horreur, labeur dur et forcé' ('Chant d'automne', OC, 74); and 'lo mismo que un crepúsculo eterno' (III, PLP, 1427), an expression of sombre

monotony and inescapable spiritual sterility reminiscent, in its use of environmental correlatives, of images found in, among other poems, 'De profundis clamavi' (OC, 59):

> C'est un univers morne à l'horizon plombé,
> Où nagent dans la nuit l'horreur et le blasphème;
>
> Un soleil sans chaleur plane au-dessous six mois,
> Et les six autres mois la nuit couvre la terre.

The final category of similarity involves the minimal stylistic unit: the lexical item, or combinations thereof. Lexical parities range from the generic, such as, for example, 'ocaso' (VII, PLP, 1431; XIII, PLP, 1437, 'hastío' (I, PLP, 1425), 'tedio' (VII, PLP, 1431; XI, PLP, 1435), the names of seasons, times of day, meteorological phenomena, to more precise examples of 'Baudelairian terminology', such as 'venenoso' (II, PLP, 1426), 'impuro', 'sucio', 'calabozo', (IV, PLP, 1428), 'sangriento', 'miseria', 'escorio' (VIII, PLP, 1432). Worthy of particular note is the juxtaposition of 'serena' and 'luminosa' in the same poem, as it recalls the combination of 'lumineux' and 'sereins' in 'Elévation' (OC, 46). Finally, there is Jiménez's use of the term 'abismo', which appears in three consecutive poems: X, XI, XII, (PLP, 1434-36). What is of interest here is that either varieties of meaning acquired by the term 'abîme', or 'gouffre' in Les Fleurs du Mal recur in 'Hoy', or concepts cognate with Jiménez's use of the term 'abismo' feature significantly in the Frenchman's poems. In poem X, the 'abismo de obsesiones y supersticiones' is 'l'espace affreux et captivant' of 'Le Gouffre' (OC, 88), the hellish abyss of 'Hymne à la Beauté' (OC, 54), the 'gouffre obscur où mon coeur est tombé'

of 'De profundis clamavi' (OC, 59), or the Poesque pit of 'L'Irrémédiable' (OC, 93). In poem XI, 'los abismos de la nada' and the abyss which beckons menacingly in XII are the bottomless chasms of oblivion and self-dissolution, the total insensibility of nothingness invoked by Baudelaire in 'Le Goût du néant' (OC, 90).

Similarities of note are also to be found in 'Tenebrae', the section of Melancolía in which the epigraph from 'Le Crépuscule du matin' appears. They are, however, less in number than in 'Hoy'.

In the first poem of 'Tenebrae' (PLP, 1443) there is an image which encapsulates the melancholy sensuality typical of many of Baudelaire's poems: '[L]a pasión sin cansancio de una mujer morena, / con grandes ojos fúnebres frente a un ocaso rojo'. Although it is difficult to pinpoint a precise source here, the 'mujer morena' is clearly related to the languorous, Spleen-afflicted femmes fatales of poems such as 'Je t'adore à l'égal de la voûte nocturne' (OC, 57), 'Sed non satiata' (OC, 57), 'Semper eadem' (OC, 65), or the imposing personifications of the absolute principle in 'La Beauté' (OC, 53) or 'Hymne a la Beauté' (OC, 54). She conforms closely to the specifications prescribed by Baudelaire in 'L'Idéal' (OC, 53).

Jiménez's description of passers-by in poem VI (PLP, 1448) as 'personajes de un teatro de ultratumba' brings to mind Baudelaire's 'La Danse macabre' (OC, 103-04). There is no conspicuous thematic parity on this occasion, although it is possible that a more tenuous process of association may have taken place in Jiménez's mind to make him connect his own experience with the Frenchman's poem. A far more substantial similarity is to be found in the eighth poem (PLP, 1450). Here, Jiménez's description

of an oppressive sky at sunset as 'una pesada tapa / de duelo y de miseria' recalls a similar moodscape from the last of the four poems entitled 'Spleen' (OC, 88): 'Quand le ciel bas et lourd pèse comme un couvercle'. It also recalls 'Le Couvercle' (OC, 92), in which the idea of *man being* hemmed in by the sky is raised from the level of one particular mood to a general principle of the human condition.

Finally, there are a handful of generic resemblances. The term 'abismo' appears in poem XI (PLP, 1453). Baudelairian sunsets diffuse their light through poem XI '[U]n ocaso verde y rojo, en donde arde / la opulencia en ruinas de sensuales imperios') and poem XII (PLP, 1454) ('El *enorme* crepúsculo de cobre y de carmín / *inflama* la ciudad'). In poem XIII (PLP, 1455), we find a technique of dramatic enumeration similar to that used on several occasions by Baudelaire. 'Que la muerte, el invierno, el luto, el mal, el odio, / hundan la vida en un torbellino de sombra' recalls 'La sottise, l'erreur, le péché, la lesine, / Occupent nos esprits et travaillent nos corps', 'Si le viol, le poison, le poignard, l'incendie, / N'ont pas encor brodé . . . ', 'Mais parmi les chacals, les panthères, les lices, / Les singes, les scorpions, les vautours, les *serpents* . . . ('Au lecteur', OC, 43), and 'Tout l'hiver va rentrer dans mon être: colère, / Haine, frissons, horreur, labeur dur et forcé' ('Chant d'automne', OC, 74).

The survey of similarities undertaken above does not and indeed cannot purport to be an exhaustive catalogue of all the points of contact between the poems of 'Hoy' and 'Tenebrae' and Baudelaire's Les Fleurs du Mal. Closer scrutiny of the kind which would be possible if the present study were concerned with Baudelaire's

influence upon Jiménez alone might reveal further rapports de fait. Even then, however, it is doubtful whether the resulting enumeration could be complete in a truly objective sense. Notwithstanding a clear definition of what constitutes a significant resemblance, the essentially arbitrary nature of the process of association by which relations of parity are discerned precludes such an achievement.

This factor serves to recall that inter-textual similarities in themselves can never constitute proof of influence. Although the presence of epigraphs renders the possibility of further influences in 'Hoy' and 'Tenebrae' even greater than elsewhere in Melancolía, the evidence carries enquiry no nearer to conclusiveness than would be the case if inter-textual resemblances were the only evidence on which to base an assessment of the situation. Once again, then, it becomes a matter of formulating the conclusions which could be drawn if the similarities could be proven to represent influences, while acknowledging that it is not actually possible to do so.

Nevertheless, on this occasion it is at least possible to involve in the formulation of a hypothesis evidence other than inter-textual similarities. It is known, for example, that the composition of 'Hoy' and 'Tenebrae' took place during the period of Jiménez's 'influencias jenerales', which included that of Baudelaire. It is also likely that Jiménez was in contact with the Frenchman's work at the time. Furthermore, both these facts are corroborated by the presence of epigraphs. This external evidence provides a reference point necessary to provide a more detailed picture of the influence which is known to have taken place. The

similarities, therefore, are less important as possible particular instances of influence in themselves than for what they reveal in their entirety about the form in which the general impact of Baudelaire on 'Hoy' and 'Tenebrae' expressed itself. Consequently, it matters less that individual similarities cannot be proven to be influence or otherwise. By the same token, differences in the degree of resemblance become less significant. Here, they no longer serve to strengthen or weaken the possibility of influence with respect to particular similarities, but to elucidate the various degrees of directness with which a hypothetical influence could be said to have manifested itself. Under these circumstances, generic similarities displaying a low degree of resemblance become much more worthy of consideration than would normally be the case. The likelihood that Jiménez was re-reading Baudelaire's work at the time he was composing the poems of 'Hoy' and 'Tenebrae' increases the probability that the Frenchman's work, as opposed to that of other equally viable contenders for influence, provided the source on this occasion.

Thus, if for the sake of hypothesis, the similarities between 'Hoy' and 'Tenebrae' are considered to represent an influence, the following conclusions may be formulated. In the first place, Jiménez's re-reading of Baudelaire could be said to have resulted in an influence which reached the level of manifestation in the text. Secondly, the varying degree of resemblance displayed by the similarities would indicate that the form of the influence extended from the assimilation of general stylistic formulae to the impact of precise sources. It

might be added here that conditions conducive to influence existed on this occasion in the form of pre-existing psychological affinities between Jiménez and Baudelaire. The way in which the Spaniard perceived and understood his own preoccupations could have been influenced by his reading of the Frenchman's work, in which similar preoccupations were articulated.

This hypothesis also works in reverse, the similarities helping to elucidate Jiménez's reading experience. The points of contact between the two texts involve elements which are of significance in the expression of the spiritual dilemma, insights and preoccupations which in Melancolía Jiménez shared with Baudelaire. They thereby corroborate that which can be deduced from the marginal notes and markings which the Spaniard made in his copy of Les Fleurs du Mal, namely, that Jiménez was capable of responding with understanding to the psychological substructure of Baudelaire's poetry and to the language chosen to express the range of états d'âme and responses deriving therefrom.

VII ART AND LIFE: EXTRA-TEXTUAL PARITIES

1. Dandysme

Juan Ramón Jiménez became acquainted with the poetry of the Symbolists, the décadents and their precursors at an early stage in his literary career, and evidence drawn from his poetry suggests that he readily assimilated aspects of Baudelaire's aesthetics which had become the common currency of those who perpetuated and developed the poetic tradition inaugurated by the author

of Les Fleurs du Mal.

One such aspect of Jiménez's aesthetic attitude retains a particularly Baudelairian quality: the Spaniard's dandysme. Lines which recall Baudelaire's definition of dandysme, but which should not necessarily be attributed to the Frenchman's influence, appear throughout Jiménez's early work. In Ninfeas, the Spaniard's first collection of verse to be published, there appears an image which embodies a notion of willing martyrdom borne unflinchingly, which is reminiscent, among other sources, of 'Don Juan aux enfers':

> ¡Qué lágrimas, qué lagrimas,
> aquellas que el Espíritu,
> del fúnebre Martirio en los palacios,
> sarcástico apuró,
> como alacrán soberbio,
> que al verse aprisionado,
> se ríe del la Muerte, desprecia a sus verdugos
> y en sus entrañas hunde su aguijón . . . !
> (PLP, 1478).

The spirit of the dandy reappears, albeit in another guise, in verses which prefigure the end of Jiménez's primera época. In Melancolía we find the image of 'tristes poetas con levitas entalladas' (PLP, 1382). R. A. Cardwell has also referred to aspects of Jiménez's early verse which coincide with Baudelaire's conception of the dandy (19). Yet Jiménez's dandysme appears to have manifested itself more consistently and graphically in his life than in his poetry, and in order to consider the presence of this phenomenon with regard to the Spanish poet it is necessary

to examine his biography rather than his work.

Antonio Campoamor González, Jiménez's biographer, recounts that when, at the end of 1901, the poet returned from Bordeaux to terminate his convalescence in the Sanatorio del Rosario in Madrid, he displayed a sobre elegance in both dress and demeanour, and which consequently gave an impression of correctness, impassivity and refinement:

> A su llegada [a Madrid] exhibía el poeta la elegancia de un dandy: correcto e impasible, frío como una sombra y pulcro como el mármol, había acentuado su tristeza exterior y añadido rigor a su apariencia juvenil dejándose crecer la barba por primera vez y para el resto de su vida (op. cit, p. 63).

Rafael Cansinos Assens, who visited Jiménez while he was at the Sanatorio del Rosario, conveys a similar impression of the poet (to which Campoamor González is possibly indebted, given the parallels between the two accounts):

> Todo [en el sanatorio] era pulcro, elegante, correcto. Yen aquel marco de selección, el poeta pulcro, correcto también, joven, fino, pálido, serio y triste, con unos grandes ojos negros y melancólicos, un leve bigotillo negro y una barbita en punta, como la de D'Annunzio, tendiéndonos la mano suave y pálida, lacia, en un gesto de fría cordialidad, con una sonrisa que dejaba ver sus dientes blanquísimos de no fumador (20).

Cansinos Assens goes further in his description of Jiménez's demeanour, alluding to other aspects of the Spaniard's behaviour consistent with the pattern transcribed by those enumerated above. He describes the composure and self-conscious solemnity of the poet as he read out his verses to the visitors in '[una] voz lánguida, desmayada, de barítono'. He refers to

Jiménez's 'afectuosidad contenida, de buen tono', and recalls how the young poet winced with barely disguised intolerance at the indelicate and somewhat vulgar effusiveness of Francisco Villaespesa.

Campoamor González's use of the term dandy is apposite and probably intentional, for the appearance and manner of Jiménez as evoked in his biography of the poet and in Cansinos-Assens's reminiscences readily invite comparison with those which Baudelaire ascribed to the exponent of aesthetic dandysme, in the sense that he conceived of it. Jiménez's elegant sobriety, his aristocratic manner, his restraint, are, like their counterparts in the Baudelairian dandy, not simply a pose or superficial phenomenon. On the contrary, they have their origins in the psychology of the poet: his self-view and world-view. Jiménez's dandysme reflects, as does that of Baudelaire, an attempt to represent his refined artistic sensibility in concrete behavioural terms. The fastidious correctness of dress is itself intended to symbolise in concrete, material terms the spiritual refinement of the individual who goes thus attired. As Baudelaire himself explained,

> [l]e dandysme n'est . . . pas, comme beaucoup de personnes peu réfléchies paraissent le croire, un goût immodéré de la toilette et de l'élégance matérielle. Ces choses ne sont pour le parfait dandy qu'un symbole de la supériorité aristocratique de son esprit. Aussi, à ses yeux, épris avant tout de distinction, la perfection de la toilette consiste-t-elle dans la simplicité absolue, qui est, en effet, la meilleure manière de se distinguer (OC, 560).

The symbolic value of the elegance of the dandy is, then, two-fold in character. It has an inward dimension, representing

the refined nature of the artist, and an outward one, serving to distinguish the superior artist from the inferior masses (which, of course, may include poets such as Villaespesa). The behaviour of the dandy expresses above all the consequences of his superior sensibility. On the one hand, aristocratic restraint represents the abhorrence of la passion (which Baudelaire considered to be too 'natural') felt by the artist whose spiritual life is characterised by the experience of states far more sublime than those to which lesser mortals have access. On the other hand, control and rigorous self-discipline not only complement this function but also serve to disguise (as in Baudelaire's 'Le Masque') the constitutional malaise and anguished insight into the human condition which are the inevitable consequence of génie.

The extent to which the philosophy of dandysme had become generalised, at least among French writers, by the time Jiménez became acquainted with the works and views of its exponents leaves little hope of establishing the extent Baudelaire or any single author was directly responsible for transmitting the concept of dandysme to the young Spaniard. The safest answer under such circumstances is the most prudent, and it would seem wise at this juncture to follow the example of R. A. Cardwell, who has suggested in respect of Jiménez's knowledge of Oscar Wilde, that the former's familiarity with décadent aesthetic trends probably owes less to the direct influence of their originators than to a general ambiente decadentista through which such trends were diffused (The Modernist Apprenticeship, pp. 106-07). Elsewhere, this critic has argued cogently the case for assuming that Jiménez's dandysme drew, at least in its form, on the behavioural

model formulated by Baudelaire which was in general circulation around the turn of the century (21).

The part played by influences in Jiménez's dandysme, however, should not be overestimated. Biographical evidence suggests that the young poet possessed in his own temperament and sensibility all the ingredients necessary to generate a set of symbolic behavioural attitudes akin to those of the dandy without the help of an example. Jiménez's behaviour suggests a clear predisposition to consider his sensibility more refined than most, and to wish, consequently, to distinguish himself from the common mass of humanity. As a young modernista in Madrid he found his so-called literary confrères brash, flamboyant and boisterous. Campoamor González records how he found the modernistas's tertulia in the Casa del Pidoux 'sucio, feo, incómodo' (op. cit., p. 48). Jiménez the hypersensitive introspective craved the tranquil, contemplative solitude of surroundings where humanity remained in the background, or at a distance, and in which he could cultivate his exquisite sensibility and indulge his quest for spirituality through art. He was clearly less disgusted by life, if not any more serene, when able to do so. While in the Sanatorio del Rosario he wrote with evident satisfaction to Rubén Darío that

> [y]o no voy a cafés ni casi al centro de Madrid; vivo aquí aislado, y sólo viene a verme algún buen amigo; así trabajo y leo sobre todo; leo y sueño mucho (Vida, p. 64).

Later on, poems from Melancolía, in which Jiménez is disturbed in the rarefied seclusion of his room by the clamour from the City beyond, were to provide yet another illustration of the

distance which he felt separated him from the common mass of humanity.

It is reasonable to assume, then, that Jiménez's discovery of the aesthetic convention of dandysme merely served to corroborate his own inclinations and possibly to determine to some extent the precise form of his behavioural attitudes.

2. Baudelaire, intermediary

Charles Baudelaire, in addition to exerting an influence upon Jiménez's thought, attitudes, and poetry, played an instrumental role in the Spaniard's discovery of the works of Edgar Allan Poe. Jiménez, whose work, it has been argued, first bore witness to the influence of the American in 1901, probably became acquainted with Poe's writings through the French translations of Baudelaire and Mallarmé (22). This being the case, the Nouvelles histoires extraordinaires would certainly have furnished the Spaniard with a valuable source of information regarding Baudelaire himself. In the first place, given the common aesthetic underlying the work of the Frenchman and Poe, Jiménez's experience on reading the two writers could have been one of mutual elucidation. That such a process did eventually take place is shown by certain remarks which Jiménez made à propos of the French poet in 'En casa de Poe', a brief article published in 1953 (23). Even if this process did not take place during the 'primera época', however, Jiménez would have had access from the time he acquired the tales to the preface - the famous 'Notes nouvelles sur Poe' - which, in its analysis of the American's work, reflects significant aspects of Baudelaire's own aesthetic attitudes.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The scope of discussion in this chapter makes it appropriate to conclude by acknowledging, with reference to the theme studied, the dual role of influence enquiry as, on the one hand, a critical instrument for exploring a particular literary theme and, on the other, an exercise in methodology and evaluation of critical approach.

Evidence provided largely by Jiménez himself demonstrates that the Spaniard received the influence of Baudelaire intermittently and in varying degrees of intensity over a number of years, or, to be more precise, most of the years of his 'primera época', when he composed his 'borradores silvestres'. This formative process culminated at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century with the discovery by Jiménez of a significance in Baudelaire's work which he had hitherto been unable to perceive. This revelation was prompted by the Spaniard's own existential preoccupations, which drove him to undertake a more structured assessment of his intellectual and spiritual predicament. The themes of Melancolía, where Baudelaire's influence reaches a peak, reflect a phase in Jiménez's struggle for spiritual and aesthetic self-definition which was to culminate around the middle of the second decade of the twentieth century in an awakening into new consciousness. The influence of Baudelaire can therefore be considered to have played a not insignificant part in this process of spiritual and aesthetic evolution.

The nature of the evidence available for the study of Jiménez's debt to Baudelaire has significant implications for

methodology. In the majority of influence enquiries, no conclusive proof of influence exists. Indeed, it would appear that the decision to undertake a study of this kind is usually made on the basis of similarities detected in the text rather than on the certain knowledge that an influence took place. The case of Baudelaire's influence upon Juan Ramón Jiménez represents a departure from the general trend, and in so doing gives the lie to the presupposition that influence enquiry is at best eloquent speculation. The conditions under which the Spaniard's debt to the author of Les Fleurs du Mal can be studied are significantly different from those which prevail in the majority of cases, and accordingly call for a reappraisal of the bases of enquiry, taking into consideration such fundamental issues as the nature of influence, the focus of critical activity and the exploitation of documentary evidence in investigations of this kind. In so doing, they serve as a reminder that the methodology of influence studies is still a matter for debate. There are ambiguities, incongruities and paradoxes in existing critical approaches to the question of literary debt which need to be resolved. Influence enquiry offers a genuine pretext to consider methodology.

The catalyst to methodological speculation is, in the case of Jiménez's debt to Baudelaire, the presence of unequivocal proof of influence both within and outside the literary text. The positive critical results which are to be obtained by virtue of this factor serves as a point de départ for debate as to whether influence - causal influence as opposed to conventions - should become the object of critical investigation only where unequivocal proof of evidence exists. In this sense, the case of Baudelaire's influence on Jiménez invites a reversal of the conventional situation

in which *rapports de fait* provide the lead for and the focus of influence study, by suggesting that they might play a supporting role to less questionable forms of evidence of literary influence.

NOTES

1. Manuscript quoted in Angel Manuel Aguirre's 'Juan Ramón Jiménez and the French Symbolist Poets: Influences and Similarities', Revista Hispánica Moderna, 36 (1970-71), pp. 212-23 (p. 223).

2. R. A. Cardwell, Juan Ramón Jiménez. The Modernist Apprenticeship 1895-1905 (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1977), p. 16. Jiménez himself mentions the date of 1916: 'En 1916 creo yo, y creen muchos críticos, mi personalidad se decide con el Diario de un poeta. Desde entonces me he alejado, o he creído alejarme, más cada día, de Francia' (Cartas literarias [Barcelona: Bruguera, 1977]), pp. 61-62).

3. See F. Garfías's introduction to Jiménez's Primeros libros de poesía (Madrid: Aguilar, 1961), pp. 15-17.

4. See Juan Ramón Jiménez. The Modernist Apprenticeship, especially pp. 92-93.

5. Introduction to Primeros libros de poesía, p. 61.

6. Antonio Campoamor González, speaking in Vida y poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez (Madrid: Sedmay, 1976) of the early success which Jiménez experienced in having his work published in reviews of repute, reveals some of the publications to which the Spaniard had access during his late adolescence: 'Juan Ramón debió probar fortuna remitiendo versos y poemas en prosa a El Gato Negro, La Ilustración Española y Americana y otras revistas ilustradas y de caracter bastante literario o plenamente literario que recibía en Moguer su hermana Ignacia, muy aficionada a esta clase de publicaciones' (p. 34).
R. A. Cardwell adds to these: La España Moderna, Madrid Cómico, Blanco y negro, Mercure de France and The Studio, and also indicates that similar reviews were available for consultation in the apartments frequented by Jiménez, where 'La Biblioteca' - a circle of Seville's literary doyens - held their gatherings. Carlos Lozano's bibliographical survey Rubén Darío y el modernismo en España 1888-1920 (New York: Las Américas Publishing Company, 1968) shows that a significant number of articles discussing the French origins and characteristics of emergent modernismo appeared in reviews to which Jiménez did or could have had access.

7. ESPACIO, autobiografía lírica de Juan Ramón Jiménez (Madrid: Insula, 1972), p. 52.

8. Cartas literarias, p. 61. Jiménez's indignant pronouncement on this occasion was probably inaccurate, since he told Ricardo Gullón that '[e]n Burdeos, leía a Francis Jammes, a quien conocí en Orthez', Conversaciones con Juan Ramón Jiménez (Madrid: Taurus, 1958), p. 100.

9. 'El modernismo poético en España y en Hispanoamérica', reprinted in El modernismo visto por los modernistas introducción y selección de Ricardo Gullón (Barcelona: Guadarrama 1980), pp. 138-55 (p. 149).

10. Ibid., p. 150.

11. Recorded in María Teresa Font, ESPACIO, autobiografía lírica de Juan Ramón Jiménez, p. 52.

12. Cartas literarias, pp. 61-62.

13. See R. A. Cardwell, op. cit., for a more detailed exposition of early influences upon Jiménez, especially pp. 91-93 (Decadent influences in general) pp. 94-96 (Manuel Reina), pp. 121-44 (various Spanish and Latin American authors). One might also consult the numerous dedications to be found in Ninfeas and Almas de violeta, although many of these may be attributable to Villaespesa, in whose charge Jiménez left the publication of these early volumes.

14. See Antonio Campoamor González, op. cit., p. 100.

15. Ibid., p. 151.

16. I am indebted to Doña Rafael Sárraga, librarian responsible for the Sala Zenobia - Juan Ramón Jiménez, who kindly provided me with photo-copies of the pages on which Jiménez made underlinings and annotations.

17. Cited in Jules Huret, Enquête sur l'evolution littéraire Paris 1901, p. 60.

18. El modernismo. Notas de un curso edición de R. Gullón and E. Fernández Méndez (Mexico 1962) p. 174.

19. Juan Ramón Jiménez. The Modernist Apprenticeship. See pp. 107, 120, 144, 168, 172-3, 179, 209-12 and 231.

20. 'Juan Ramón Jiménez', El modernismo visto por los modernistas, introducción y selección de Ricardo Gullón (Barcelona: Guadarrama 1980), pp. 292-301 (p. 295).

21. See R. A. Cardwell, 'The Early Work of Juan Ramón Jiménez (1895-1900). The Study of a Poetic Apprenticeship in Fin de siècle Spain'(unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Nottingham 1974), pp. 354-58. Here the critic supports his contention with reference to significant resemblances which can be discerned between photographs and portraits of Jiménez and Baudelaire.

22. See Carmen Pérez Romero, 'Raices norteamericanas en la obra de Juan Ramón Jiménez: E. A. Poe y la poesía juanramoniana', Anuario de Estudios Filológicos, 2 (1980), pp. 211-229 (p. 213).

23. La corriente infinita, recopilación, selección y prólogo de Francisco Garfias (Madrid: Aguilar 1961), pp. 123-30 (pp. 124, 128-29).

C O N C L U S I O N

This study has sought to determine the fortune of Charles Baudelaire in Spain during a literary historical period when circumstances were such as to engender much critical speculation regarding the theme of Franco-Hispanic literary relations. The evidence presented in this study invites the drawing of a number of conclusions with respect to the principle aspects of any study of a writer's *succès*: diffusion, critical reception and influence.

By comparison with the popularity enjoyed among Spain's *fin-de-siècle* Francophile men of letters by other French writers, Baudelaire's fame was modest. In terms of the circulation of his work, however, his impact was far from insignificant. The publication of his complete works was announced in *La Epoca* as early as 1868; by the early 1880s the first of a number of his works that were to appear in Spanish translation at regular intervals over the next twenty years had been published in the progressive review *La Diana*. The most frequently translated works were *La Fanfarlo* (editions in 1882, 1894 and 1910) and *Les Paradis artificiels* ([1890] , 1894, [1905]), both relatively minor works. Yet such modest accomplishments (rather than the more obvious *Les Fleurs du Mal* or the *Petits poèmes en prose*), it should not be forgotten, had given the most graphic and comprehensive expression to a number of the most fundamental tenets of the Frenchman's aesthetic beliefs: In the former, the controversial *goût de l'artifice* and the cult of *dandysme*; in the latter, transcendental mysticism and, in particular, the *goût de l'infini*. Whether Baudelaire's Spanish translators or those who encouraged them to undertake such projects were aware of the significance of these texts must remain a matter for conjecture. The motives for translated editions may simply have been taste for the unconventional themes which these works

treated. The fact remains nonetheless that they served to introduce fundamental aspects of Baudelairian aesthetics to Spanish audiences from an early date. Subsequent editions repeated the message at regular intervals throughout the fifteen to twenty-year period spanning the turn of the century. Baudelaire's most celebrated works were, of course, also translated into Spanish, albeit somewhat belatedly. Les Fleurs du Mal and the Petits poèmes en prose both appeared in Spanish for the first time in 1905.

Another factor of particular relevance to the question of the competition which Baudelaire faced from other French writers is the distinct advantage of priority which he enjoyed over his successors. The Frenchman stood at the very source of the literary tradition of which modernismo was one manifestation. Thus his contribution to the development of this tradition had been made sufficiently early for the generation of Spanish poets potentially susceptible to his influence to have at their disposal from the very outset, material with which to form an impression of the Frenchman's work. This corpus not only included translations of his work but also the opinions of a pre-existing critical response, albeit restricted in scope, heavily coloured by preconceptions and clouded by prejudice. In one sense, the passionate response which Baudelaire's work inspired among his earlier commentators - detractors almost without exception - ironically favoured his diffusion in Spain. Valera's vehement denunciations of the poet's 'insincerity' and his vigorous campaign to counter the pernicious effect which he feared Baudelaire's work might have on traditional values, together with Clarín's eloquent defence of Baudelaire against the censure of critical prudentismo, ensured that the French poet's name arrived in style.

Spanish critical reaction to Baudelaire reflects the least

successful dimension of Baudelaire's fortune in Spain. Spanish critics, even in their most indulgent and appreciative guises, remained largely obsessed with the few aspects of Baudelaire's work which had from the outset contrived to determine the poet's notoriety. This gave rise to the misleading stereotype we have studied, an unfortunate but inevitable result of the ideological and cultural circumstances under which his Spanish commentators were writing. For many critical commentators, including some modernistas, Baudelaire was above all the creator of 'Les Litanies de Satan', 'Une Charogne' or 'Un Voyage à Cythère'. He was a diabólico, tortured by spiritual anguish and obsessed with bizarre, perverse preoccupations. He was the first and supreme exponent of the espíritu decadente, with its dubious mysticism in which pagan spirituality struck up an uneasy partnership with sensuality - materialismo - and in which the goût de l'artifice replaced the hitherto respected mimetic cult of nature.

This restricted vision of the poet, wherein his profile as an artist was reduced to the morally controversial aspects of his poetic production, was in many ways typical of nineteenth-century critical response to Baudelaire in general. The aspects of Baudelaire's work which Spanish critics recalled with such insistence had already formed and were to continue to form for a number of decades the core of debate for commentators of different nationalities, ideologies and aesthetic persuasions. (All these facets had been treated in the seminal studies of Gautier and Bourget, a fact which invites speculation as to how far the scope of critical response to Baudelaire in France and elsewhere was conditioned by the range of critical issues raised by these commentators). The view of Baudelaire as a diabólico, as the poet of vice and Spleen, was to persist in Spain well into the twentieth century. The shift of emphasis from his 'immorality' and

deviant psychology to a more tolerant perception of his existential plight and his true stature as an innovator was very gradual; understanding of his work came slowly. The centenary of his birth (celebrated in 1921) marked a general revival in interest. This, as William F. Aggeler's documentation of Spanish critical response to Baudelaire at this time shows, provided an opportunity to discard the traditional image of the poet. Henceforth, Baudelaire's critical fortunes took a markedly upward turn as moral or ideological prejudices began to lose their grip on literary consciousness. Spanish critical reaction soon began to progress steadily towards a more enlightened appreciation of the poet's work and sensibility. It would, however, be something of an oversimplification to consider Spanish critical response to Baudelaire between 1857 and 1910 as entirely negative. It is true that the critical image of the poet presented during this period was confined largely to a narrow and unrepresentative range of features. Yet this fact at least served to assure Baudelaire of the notoriety which was essential if other less controversial but unquestionably significant aspects of his work were to come to the attention of the Spanish literary public. Thus it was that his influence on the younger generations of French poets and progressive Spanish writers came eventually to be recognised as a testimony to the profound contribution which he had made to developments in poetry and poetics during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As far as the actual influence of Baudelaire is concerned, it becomes evident at even the most preliminary stage of investigation that the real situation is quite different from the impression created by the simplistic, categorical pronouncements of which

existing critical opinion is almost entirely composed.

The widespread assumption that Baudelaire exerted a profound and extensive influence upon the work of *modernista* poets has been prompted no doubt by the evident geneological relation between fundamental principles of aesthetics originally articulated by the French poet and those which the generation of Spanish innovators of the *fin-de-siècle* came to adopt. One needs to look neither far nor hard to find evidence that *modernismo* partook of the literary tradition of which Baudelaire is the acknowledged precursor, and that the Spaniards' poetics derive fundamentally from the mould in which Baudelaire recast aesthetic thought. It is with reference to the persistence of aspects of Baudelairian aesthetics in *modernismo* that critics have spoken of the French poet's 'influence'. Now, 'influence' surely implies the direct formative action of one entity upon another. Critics, however, have given little consideration to determining whether a causal relation exists between Baudelaire's work and that of the *modernistas*. Indeed, the mere presence of inter-textual similarities appears sufficient for critics to start speaking of the Frenchman's influence.

One of the consequences of indiscriminate use by critics of the term 'influence' is that existing critical response gives an exaggeratedly favourable impression of the extent to which *modernista* writers received the direct influence of Baudelaire. In reality, although the Frenchman's work was quite well known, it does not appear to have figured among the *modernistas*' primary sources of inspiration. The writers who enjoyed success in this respect were above all the Romantics (especially Hugo), Baudelaire's contemporaries the Parnassians (Coppée, Mendès, Leconte de Lisle, Gautier in particular), and his successors: Verlaine, the Symbolists

(except possibly, Mallarmé) and the Décadents. The modernistas also found a far from insignificant source of inspiration in indigenous Romantic poets (especially Espronceda and Bécquer) and a number of Latin Americans, many of whom may have passed on Baudelaire's influence indirectly. Then there are cases such as that of Villaespesa, who turned not only to Zorrilla, the 'negative' Spanish Romantics, and the Latin Americans, but also to the Italians and the Portuguese.

Baudelaire may possibly have exercised a greater degree of direct influence upon the minor, later poets of Peninsular modernismo. This, at least, is implicit in César González Ruano's observation:

> Influencias de Baudelaire hay en Emilio Carrère, que da un sesgo representativo y matritense a los fantasmas del desgarrado francés. . . . Influencia . . . en los poetas menores de aquella generación del modernismo - Rafael Lasso de la Vega, Mauricio Bacarisse, Heliodoro Puche, Xavier Bóveda, etc -, para quienes Las flores del mal fue su breviario (Baudelaire, Cuarta edición [Madrid 1958] pp. 225-26).

It might also prove feasible to argue for the influence of Baudelaire in the minor works of better-known authors. Aspects of the 'Tableaux parisiens' are, for example, to be found in some of the early cuentos of Pío Baroja, who, as José Corrales Egea has revealed in Baroja y Francia (Madrid 1969), read the Frenchman's work with interest from an early age.

This study has sought to elucidate the question of Baudelaire's influence on the Spanish modernistas, and, hopefully, has to some degree been successful in achieving this aim. If, however, the achievement of a comparative study of this order is measured in terms

of the number of cases of influence proven, of the skill with which the critic persuades the reader to accept that the influence of one writer upon another is not a mere possibility but a significant probability, of whether or not the last word on the matter under discussion has been articulated; if, in short, success is related to whether the critic, when asked if a literary debt was incurred, can answer 'yes' or 'no', then this study falls short of the mark.

The question of Baudelaire's influence on the Spanish modernistas, however, raises issues which cannot be dealt with adequately by a methodological system designed purely to examine unequivocal influences or to formulate influence arguments. A primary function of the present enquiry has been to test the validity of assumptions which exist among critics with respect to the Spanish modernistas' debt to Baudelaire. Given this aim, it has been deemed more pertinent to test whether the evidence available is sufficient to support the assumption than to seek to determine the truth with respect to the Frenchman's influence. Indeed, since the influence enquiry should (but often does not) take into account the quality of the evidence available, it has seemed less logical to attempt to determine whether an influence actually took place, than to assess what the evidence allows one to conclude in respect to this issue. On many occasions, as is often the case in comparative studies of this kind, the evidence is not sufficient to allow a conclusive pronouncement to be formulated. Where this has been the case, it has been deemed more ethical to accept the fact of the matter rather than to make hasty and unfounded assumptions or to seek to present the possibility of influence as a probability.

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